



Warning to Nixon

Is LBJ Really Gone for Good?

By HOLMES ALEXANDER

For prima donnas like Lyndon Johnson every farewell appearance is "final"—until the next one is announced.

If you were a ticket holder for LBJ's last address to Congress, Jan. 14, 1969, hang onto the rain check. He'll be a Democratic aspirant in 1972—or some of the Texans who know him well are talking through their Stetsons.

One of them told a reporter: "No sooner was Hubert Humphrey nominated in Chicago than I began pulling for Nixon to win. I never met Spiro Agnew, but I'm grateful to him. Because if Nixon had made John Tower (R.-Tex.) his vice presidential candidate, there might have been a bigger national Texan than Lyndon is."

This LBJ Democrat for '72 went on to ad lib the scenario: "Where does Nixon think he's going with this 91st Congress? Dick Russell (D.-Ga.) is chairman of Senate Appropriations. George Mahon (D.-Texas) is chairman of House Appropriations. If Hubert had been elected President last year, Johnson couldn't have opposed him next time. But President Nixon can't do anything except try to carry on the Johnson programs, and so what's wrong with Johnson for President in '72?"

This conversation, admittedly sanitized and rephrased to protect its source, is given for what it's worth—and it's worth a warning to President Nixon that he hasn't heard the last from LBJ.

The ex-President's wrap-up address this month can be read as a keynote speech rather than a valedictory. The lugubrious goodbyes to Capitol Hill places and persons did not blot out the bold signature that LBJ attached to the last pages of the splotchy record of the "Great Society." His branding iron sizzled as it hit the cringing flesh of the nation and stamped there his copyright



An expansive LBJ seems to savor his retirement back on his Texas ranch. But, says columnist Alexander, Johnson's removal from the political scene may well be only temporary.

on the three civil rights bills, the omnibus aids to education, the manifesto for safe streets, the wars against poverty and pollution and the new playgrounds in expanded National Parks.

The country wouldn't call this a proud record, but Lyndon Johnson did—and there were almost enough bits and pieces of ragtag voter appeal to put over Hubert Humphrey last November. Johnson gave very skimpy mention to the treadmill Paris conference or to the sorry stalemate in Viet Nam. These wretched exhibits of his statecraft—of his bad luck and his bad judgment—drove him from office and defeated his deputy-candidate, but Mr. Nixon can't expect to be that fortunate again.

Neither can the country. Every time

some Democratic President gets us into war—Wilson, Roosevelt, Truman, Johnson—the Republicans win a national election. But the cost is too great for rejoicing. One of these times we're going to lose a war. Unless we're different from all other countries which have suffered major defeats, we're then going to be driven into changing our internal form of government, and the cost of unloading Democratic Presidents will be higher still. We need Mr. Nixon for a two-term executive, and in order to be one he must liquidate both the Viet Nam war and the "Great Society."

As to the war, there is every sign that President Nixon is too much of an innate anti-Communist to surrender territory and population to

the enemy. If he makes this very clear on the battlefield as well as in conference, we can still hope for the overdue victory. But how to raze the "Great Society"—rather than continue its construction as a monument to LBJ—is something else. If the new President skids into a dime-store liberalism to support Johnson's ongoing programs, he's making LBJ a logical Democratic candidate for '72.

At least, that's what some Johnson die-hards are saying, and they're not forgetting Ted Kennedy, Edmund Muskie and Hubert Humphrey as Democratic aspirants. Lyndon Johnson is no lower today in political hopes than Richard Nixon was a few years ago. We're in for a spate of build-up-Johnson biographies by Liz Carpenter, Ladybird Johnson and other insiders. We're in for some odious comparisons if Mr. Nixon can't handle a Democratic Congress as well as his predecessor did. And we're in for much adverse editorializing if Mr. Nixon's programs begin to resemble an imitation of the "Great Society" with its deep-set brand of LBJ.

These are warnings for Mr. Nixon at a time when warnings are quite in order. He has begun his term with a number of fissures that could rapidly widen into a credibility gap of his own. Some of us would have liked it better if Mr. Nixon had thought up a better idea than going along with the Johnson surtax. And if Mr. Nixon had made Interior Secretary Walter Hickel stick to the tough line about putting more natural resources into the national wealth.

These are early examples of the new President copying the old. And examples of what President Nixon can't afford to do very often.

(Distributed by McNaught Syndicate, Inc.)

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Human Events is published weekly by Human Events, Inc., 422 First Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003. Second class postage paid at Washington, D.C. and other mailing offices. One year subscription, \$12.50 (see coupon at right).

U.S. national newsstand distribution by Eastern News Distributors, Inc., 155 W. 15th Street, New York, N.Y. 10011.

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● Conservative Republicans are burning that three key members of the liberal GOP **Ripon Society**—John Price (founder), Lee Huebner (the immediate past president) and Christopher C. DeMuth (a former secretary)—have turned up on the White House staff. Political insiders say that Jim Keogh and Raymond Price, two of the President's insiders, were instrumental in selecting these individuals, even though the Ripon Society opposed Nixon's nomination and took a condescending view of his presidential campaign.

● **Barry Goldwater** still seems to be the hero of the GOP. At one of the inaugural balls held in the Sheraton-Park Hotel, the Arizona lawmaker received the biggest ovation of any of the celebrities who were introduced.

● Goldwater, moreover, is still his same forthright self. Recently asked by reporters about his thoughts on **Robert S. McNamara**, Barry replied: "Your tape [in the newsmen's tape recorders] isn't long enough and the sun won't be in the sky long enough for me to tell you what a jackass he was as secretary of defense. I only hope he doesn't screw up the World Bank."

● Radical **Julian Bond**, the youthful Georgia legislator who was put up for the vice presidential nomination at the 1968 Democratic National Convention, now says the Negro will find out that appeals to justice and fair play are "outmoded and useless." In a recent Richmond, Va., speech, Bond claimed the "new movement is to force change through coercion, threats, power or violence." Bond indicated the method would be that of armed rebellion. "After all," he said, "that was the American way of 1776."

● Mail to Capitol Hill is running 9 to 1 against the lawmakers' **\$12,500-a-year pay hike** scheduled to go into effect February 14—unless vetoed by Congress itself. Opponents of the pay raise are disappointed, however, that the volume of mail has been relatively light. "It may be the public has been hit over the head so many times with this kind of unjustified spending that it has become numb," says Sen. John J. Williams (R-Del.), who is leading the fight to kill the pay hike.

● Soviet experts fear that the reported assassination attempt against the cosmonauts in Moscow last week may herald a **terrorist purge** reminiscent of that directed by Stalin in the 1930s. Details of the shooting are sketchy, with Tass saying only that a "schizophrenic" man fired on the four Soyuz spacemen as they rode through Moscow's streets. Kremlinologists in the West, noting the absence of further details and wondering why anyone would pick out the popular, "nonpolitical" cosmonauts for an assassination target, believe the episode may signal a harsh crackdown on Soviet dissidents. The '30s purges of anti-Stalinists, they note, began with the murder of a popular Russian figure which was later revealed to have been arranged by Stalin himself as a pretext for destroying his opponents.

● Sources close to FBI Director **J. Edgar Hoover** say the veteran G-man plans to retire within a year. Hoover has made it "very clear," say the sources, that President Nixon tab the Bureau's No. 2 man, Cartha D. De Loach, as his successor.

Capital Briefs

● A federal grand jury is looking into reports of massive scandal in the operation of **Pride, Inc.**, a multi-million-dollar anti-poverty program in the Nation's Capital. Rep. Joel Broyhill (R-Va.), who has pushed for the probe, has received reports that Pride officials used federal dollars to secure lawyers for militants arrested in the 1968 riots, to pay parking tickets and to buy gas masks for future confrontations with the police. Investigators for the watchdog General Accounting Office have reportedly discovered widespread "misappropriations."

● **LBJ's final budget** calls for a federal outlay of \$955 for each person in the country. This compares to \$878 for fiscal 1968 and \$905 for the current fiscal year.

● Massachusetts Republicans are seriously discussing the possibility of not opposing **Teddy Kennedy** for re-election in 1970. GOP strategists describe Teddy as "unbeatable" and suggest that by conceding him re-election they can concentrate on retaining the governorship and winning a few additional legislative seats. Democratic State Chairman David Harrison says that a GOP decision to give Kennedy a free ride would be smart politics: "If Ted has any kind of opposition, he'll be here, all over the state, working hard for his re-election. If he doesn't, he'll be free to campaign around the country, helping out other Democrats."

● This last LBJ budget also contains goodies aplenty for the folks back home. Although Texas ranks sixth in population, it ranks second only to California in the number of pork-barrel projects provided in the fiscal '70 budget.

● Outspoken Adm. **Hyman G. Rickover** charged last week that Pentagon apathy was enabling certain defense contractors to make excess profits of \$2 billion a year on government contracts. In testimony before the Joint Subcommittee on Economy in Government, Rickover said that contractors were making profits as high as 33 per cent and that price tags for military hardware were rising at a rate far greater than that for other manufactured goods.

● Radical leftists are suspected in the latest case of arson at the University of California at Berkeley. Authorities say there is "no doubt" that the blaze last week which extensively damaged the school's main auditorium was set by militants of the New Left. And at nearby San Francisco State College, police discovered a time bomb shortly before it was to go off outside the office of embattled President S. I. Hayakawa.

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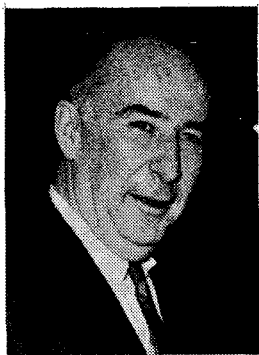
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Justice Given New Teeth

Though apprehensive about much of the Nixon Administration, Capitol Hill conservatives are extremely happy about the shape the Justice Department is taking under Atty. Gen. John Mitchell.

As one delighted commentator remarked: "Mitchell's attitude is great. He's filling all the top jobs with highly competent personnel. And, thank Heaven, there isn't—save for Griswold—a college professor in the crowd."



MITCHELL

Unlike his dreamy predecessor, Ramsey Clark, Mitchell is actually prepared to wage an all-out assault against the crime wave engulfing the nation. He plans to crack down vigorously on organized crime, take a tougher stand against student activists, clamp down on street rioters and make life extremely uncomfortable for black and white revolutionaries.

Moreover, Mitchell is ready to employ some tough, no-nonsense measures to accomplish the job.

For instance, he has already made it clear that he, unlike Clark, will use court-approved wiretapping to obtain convictions against the Mafia and other members of organized crime. Mitchell has also indicated he would back legislation—similar to that introduced by House Republicans and now pushed by Sen. Joseph Tydings (D.-Md.)—which would permit judges to jail until trial felony defendants they believe would pose a danger to the community if released on bail.

The need for such legislation is considered pressing, since investigation has proved that a disturbingly high percentage of adults picked up for committing crimes are persons out on bail awaiting trial on previous felony charges.

Furthermore, Mitchell looks favorably on the idea of denying known troublemakers parole permits, and he has assured Sen. Strom Thurmond (R.-S.C.) that he is willing to employ the Thurmond-Lausche law, which makes it a crime to use interstate facilities for the purpose of stirring up violence.

Nor is this all that's pleasing to conservatives. Most of the appointees selected by Mitchell are decidedly starboard in their philosophy. Two of his picks are Phoenix lawyers who were staunch supporters of Barry Goldwater for President. Richard D. Kleindienst, 45, the deputy attorney general-designate, was field director of the "Draft Goldwater"



Atty. Gen. Mitchell announces the selection of Richard Kleindienst (left) as deputy attorney general, and Jerris Leonard as head of the civil rights division of the Justice Department.

movement in 1964. Kleindienst also worked closely with the Nixon campaign in 1968.

Another stalwart backer of Goldwater—William H. Rehnquist—was named assistant attorney general. Rehnquist has sharply criticized the "left-wing" nature of the Supreme Court in speeches and articles.

The selection of Will R. Wilson of Dallas to be the assistant attorney general in charge of the Criminal Division is also considered a solid selection. Wilson, a conservative Democrat turned Republican, headed up a statewide citizen's group for Texas Sen. John Tower in 1966 and was recommended by Tower for his new post. A former associate justice of the Texas Supreme Court and ex-state attorney general, Wilson has the reputation of being a crime buster. He was, for instance, highly instrumental in cleaning up organized crime in Galveston. As attorney gen-

eral, further, Wilson was responsible for the exposure and prosecution of LBJ crony Billie Sol Estes.

Security experts are equally pleased with Mitchell's retention of Walter Yeagley as head of internal security matters. Yeagley, say these observers, has been favorably disposed toward tough measures dealing with Communists and revolutionaries, though he was severely hampered in this area by Ramsey Clark.

Another fascinating aspect of the new Justice Department set-up is that Mitchell has made Kevin



Phillips, a Harvard Law School graduate who was previously an aide to Rep. Paul Fino (R.-N.Y.), his special assistant. Phillips' role is not entirely clear, but he will undoubtedly have a say in such matters as judicial appointments and policy. What pleases conservatives is that throughout the campaign last year, Phillips provided Mitchell, then Nixon's campaign manager, with much of the advice that shaped the conservative nature of Nixon's campaign.

Phillips, in fact, has a book in the works, *The Emerging Republican Majority*, which will shortly be published by the conservatively oriented Arlington House. Examining vote trends, Phillips argues that the Republicans should start heading southward if the GOP wants to become a permanent majority party. This would mean, of course, that the GOP would have to head in a conservative direction to win these votes. With Phillips in his post, politicians believe that the Justice Department, at any rate, has no intention of turning "liberal" in a Nixon Administration.

• Nixon's withdrawal last week of the names of several LBJ nominees for important posts provides further evidence that the President plans to carry out his anti-crime pledge. Among those whose nominations were axed: U.S. Attorney David G. Bress, who had been named to a judgeship in the U.S. District Court in Washington. Bress had been under fire from Sen. John Williams (R.-Del.) for his connections with Bobby Baker. Other names withdrawn: former D.C. Public Safety Commissioner Patrick V. Murphy, who has held a recess appointment as administrator of the Law Enforcement Assistance Act, and Ralph G. H. Siu and Wesley A. Pomeroy, who had been associate administrators under Murphy. Murphy's attitude toward crime prevention and law enforcement has also been considered wishy-washy.

Demos Fill Labor Posts

Senate Republicans are more than a bit miffed at the way the Department of Labor is being stacked with Democrats under the direction of Labor Secretary George Shultz. Shultz, in fact, has filled four of the top five positions in the department with Democrats, some of them liberals.

William J. Usery Jr., a union leader who backed Hubert Humphrey for the nomination, in fact, has

been chosen by Shultz for an assistant labor secretary position.

Shultz, moreover, has not even familiarized himself with the Republican position on labor issues. Recently the new labor secretary discussed labor problems with a group of GOP senators, including Robert Griffin (Mich.), Winston Prouty (Vt.) and Paul Fannin (Ariz.). All were members of the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee in the 90th Congress. While Shultz assured the senators that he favors retaining the right-to-work law—although he once headed a private task force that called for its repeal—he indicated the Administration had every intention of easing the restrictions against common situs picketing; i.e., loosening up the strike laws that apply to the construction workers. He informed the senators, further, that he understood this to be the Republican position.

The senators appeared to be shocked at Shultz' misinformation. It certainly wasn't the GOP position, they assured Shultz, and at the end of the talk session the senators believed Shultz had been persuaded not to have his department support such a measure. Both Shultz and Nixon, the senators believe, have gotten into trouble by listening too closely to Sen. Jacob Javits (R.-N.Y.), the ranking GOP leader on the Senate Labor Committee.

Is Bucher Navy's Fall Guy?

Pueblo Commander Lloyd Bucher has returned to his home country only to face an ordeal that may ultimately equal the treatment given him by his North Korean captors. The U.S. Navy has threatened Cmdr. Bucher with court martial for possible violation of the naval code section that says a commanding officer may not allow his command ship to be searched by a foreign power or allow personnel under his command to be forcibly removed so long as he has the power to resist.



BUCHER

There are many persons in Washington—and undoubtedly the rest of the nation also—who believe Cmdr. Bucher's superiors in the Navy should be as sharply questioned about the *Pueblo* episode as the ship's officer.

While Bucher is being subjected to an excruciating, emotion-wrought public court of inquiry, conducted by a trio of Navy admirals, there are numerous vital questions—bearing on all U.S. intelligence operations—which have gone unexplored, at least in the public testimony. Bucher raised some of these during the first days of his "trial," but the admirals quickly moved on to other questions.

While there may well be some subjects that must be handled in private because of security considerations, there are areas that another, possibly a congressional, investigation might look into and enlighten the public. Among them:

• The refusal by the Navy, including the then chief of Naval Operations, Adm. David McDonald, to grant Bucher's request for a "destruct system" which would quickly wreck his secret radar, sonar and classified electronic gear in case of enemy threat. Bucher's only destruction device was a small incinerator to burn classified documents, but only after they had been hand-shredded.

• The Navy's claim that this destruct equipment, and other essential outfitings (including a functional shipboard telephone system), were not provided Bucher for economy reasons. In converting the *Pueblo* from a cargo ship to an electronic surveillance ship the Navy cut the outfitting budget by \$1 million. Economy-in-government is one thing; sending men on a sensitive mission as sitting ducks is quite another.

• The fact that this ship, with its highly secret surveillance cargo and its precarious mission, was left naked to possible enemy attack. The *Pueblo*'s predecessor in the station off North Korea, the U.S.S.

Banner, had an escort of two destroyers; when the *Pueblo* took over, however, these were both deployed elsewhere, despite repeated North Korean threats to take action against U.S. ships off its shores.

• Why, also, was the *Pueblo* not afforded cover from the air? There was a South Korean airfield only 15 minutes' flying time from where the ship was captured and there sat four American bombers; they were, however, outfitted with nuclear weapons and quite useless in protecting the *Pueblo*.

The Naval Court of Inquiry has not bothered to look into these weighty questions. Its ruling brass are falling back on the ancient rule of the sea that a commanding officer takes out his ship on his own judgment and thereafter is responsible for what happens to it. Therefore, they argue, Cmdr. Bucher knew what he was doing when he took the *Pueblo* out and must now be held responsible for not resisting its capture.

But from testimony so far made public, it appears to laymen that Cmdr. Bucher did resist capture to the point where he no longer had the power to resist in any effective way. He attempted first to outrun the North Korean gunboats harassing him, and only surrendered when surrounded by an enemy subchaser, five torpedo boats and with MIG jet fighters circling overhead. By then, one of the crewmen had been fatally wounded, Bucher himself had received shrapnel wounds and it had become obvious that, despite radio assurances, no U.S. assistance was forthcoming.

Someone is surely guilty in the *Pueblo* affair, but Bucher's superiors seem to be far more guilty than he. Many observers believe he is only the fall guy, who, by treacherous circumstances, is now made to suffer for the mistakes, oversights and bungling of others.

Sen. Richard Russell (D.-Ga.), who is conducting his own inquiry into the *Pueblo* affair, should delve into Bucher's accusations as well as the Navy's salvos against the commander.

Barry Blasts Nuclear Treaty

It didn't receive much coverage in the press, but Sen. Barry Goldwater (R.-Ariz.) let loose a real blast at the nuclear non-proliferation treaty at a January 14 luncheon meeting of the West Point Society of the District of Columbia.



GOLDWATER

Not only is it a terrible treaty, said Goldwater, but the Soviet Union, by invading Czechoslovakia, violated the document even as it was awaiting Senate confirmation. Indeed, the preamble of the treaty declares that "states must refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state."

The Goldwater speech is considered extremely timely, for the Administration—under the prodding of the disarmament buffs in both the executive and Congress—is expected to push for its ratification in the very near future.

The GOP's former presidential candidate also termed the treaty as meaningless because two present nuclear powers, France and Red China, will have nothing to do with it. In addition, many nations which presently are on the brink of developing nuclear weapons are among the nonsignatories, including India, West Germany and Israel.

A close examination of the treaty, Goldwater added, leads to the conclusion that a definite possibility exists that if this treaty is ratified, some 100 non-nuclear nations may construe it as giving rise to a commitment of the United States to provide immediate military support in case of a nuclear attack or the threat of a nuclear attack against any such nation.

"Another weakness of the treaty," the retired Air Force general remarked, "is that it would pro-

vide no safeguard which could go into effect simultaneously with the application of the treaty. The safeguards for verification of compliance would not be negotiated or established until after the treaty enters into force and need not be concluded for two years.

"The inspection phase of the treaty would be entrusted to the International Atomic Energy Agency, which has no proven inspection skill. Even if adequate safeguards could be developed, the agency is limited under the treaty to declared nuclear facilities. There is no provision for searching out clandestine facilities. Nor does the treaty impose any penalty or sanction on any nation that violates the treaty."

Moreover, Article III—the only article dealing with inspection and control—applies only to "fissionable" material. Yet the day is not far off, says Goldwater, "when nuclear explosions will be achieved by direct fusion without the preliminary trigger of fissionable uranium or plutonium."

The Goldwater talk, it is hoped by some, may prove to be a rallying point for a number of U.S. senators who are opposed to the treaty but who thus far have not spoken out against it.

McNamara's Foolish Legacy

Defense Secretary Melvin Laird, who advocates a policy of nuclear superiority over the Soviet Union, is going to have a tough time maintaining such superiority because of the legacy left behind by the disarmament theorists.

In a year-end report, outgoing Defense Secretary Clark Clifford in effect acknowledged what conservatives have been shouting from the rooftops for years: that the Soviets were catching up to us in long-range missiles, i.e.; Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles.

A "large increase" in heavily protected ICBMs was "the most significant" development of 1968 in Soviet strategic weaponry, said Clifford. Clifford also said the Soviet Union will catch up with the United States by the end of 1969 in ICBMs, with each side having over 1,000 buried underground and ready to fire.

A Saigon Sellout?

"A cardinal rule of diplomacy is that you do not surrender at the conference table what you have won on the battlefield," the highly respected Keyes Beech wrote last week from Saigon. "Yet as the Vietnamese peace talks get under way in Paris, there is concern among both Americans and South Vietnamese that the United States will do just that."

Beech, ace correspondent for the *Chicago Daily News*, reported a growing fear that U.S. negotiators, desperate to extricate themselves from the Viet Nam morass, will throw away the winning hand.

The little-reported truth, said Beech, is that the Communists are badly beaten and that "quietly, methodically and undramatically, the war is being won."

"We may, in fact, have already won it without being aware of it," Beech said. The veteran correspondent pointed to the following:

- As a military force, the Viet Cong have been cut to shreds. Many of their top leaders have been killed and the defection rate has risen to unprecedented levels. From 30 to 40 per cent of the Viet Cong's village militia is now made up of women.

- The performance of the South Vietnamese forces is vastly improved. Armed with the latest U.S. weapons, trained by American advisers, the much-maligned South Vietnamese are showing a real will to fight.

- The pacification program has scored signal successes. Three out of four South Vietnamese now live in "relative security" in areas under control of the Saigon government. An all-out offensive against the Viet Cong infrastructure—dubbed the "Phoenix program"—is reaping great dividends.

Nowhere, says Beech, is the decline of enemy strength more evident than in the Mekong Delta,

which holds 35 per cent of the country's population. For more than a decade the Viet Cong have controlled the Delta, but the situation has changed dramatically in recent months.

"I just don't understand it," said one Vietnamese-speaking American who recently traveled throughout the Delta. "I went into hamlet after hamlet that was supposed to be Viet Cong and there weren't any. I asked where the Viet Cong leaders had gone and people said they were either dead or had gone to Cambodia."

Information of this sort certainly should stiffen the posture of the American negotiators in Paris.

Coast Guard's Plush Jet

New Transportation Secretary John Volpe may start taking a hard look at how much is being spent on "private executive jetliners" to carry governors and officials after a Georgia congressman revealed that the Coast Guard recently purchased an "exorbitantly plush" \$2.9-million jetliner.

Rep. Fletcher Thompson (R.-Ga.) disclosed last week that a General Accounting Office report confirmed his contentions that the Coast Guard spent too much money on the jet.

"The purpose of the Coast Guard," Thompson told Congress, "is to protect our shores and save lives and not to see how much luxury they can provide for the top employees of the DOT and the Coast Guard."

Thompson said the "most appalling" factor about the purchase of the jet was that after \$162,000 was spent on the interior furnishings of the aircraft, the Coast Guard officials turned around and spent an additional \$41,848 "to make even plusher the already super-plush interior."

The Georgia congressman pointed out that "the money spent on this aircraft would have been enough to provide for instrument landing systems at 20 airports or provide bright tube radar displays in the control towers of 85 airports."

"At a time when the FAA is still using war surplus military radar," Thompson said, "it seems strange that the DOT which oversees the FAA and the Coast Guard would allow the addition of this plush private jetliner to the already large fleet of executive jetliners and twin-engine aircraft based at Washington National Airport for the use of DOT officials."

Hickel Confirmation Vote

Former Alaska Gov. Walter Hickel was finally confirmed by the Senate last week as Nixon's secretary of the interior, but not before several politically ambitious Democrats did their best to hang Hickel because he believes that the development of natural resources is sometimes better for the country than preserving them in virgin purity.



HICKEL

Edmund Muskie, Ted Kennedy, George McGovern and Eugene McCarthy all cast votes against Hickel. So did Fred Harris, Humphrey's campaign manager and his personal pick for Democratic national chairman. To many observers, the whole hue and cry raised against Hickel was a publicity stunt, manufactured and led by leading Democratic presidential aspirants.

Following is the January 23 Senate rollcall vote by which the Senate approved Hickel as secretary of the interior:

FOR CONFIRMATION: 73

DEMOCRATS (32): Anderson, Bayh, Bible, Burdick, Byrd (Va.), Byrd (W.Va.), Cannon, Church, Dodd, Ellender, Ervin, Fulbright, Gore, Gravel, Hart, Holland, Hollings, Hughes, Jackson, Jordan (N.C.), Long, McClellan, McGee, Randolph, Russell, Sparkman, Spong, Stennis, Symington, Talmadge, Williams (N.J.) and Yarborough.

REPUBLICANS (41): Aiken, Allott, Baker, Bellmon, Bennett, Boggs, Brooke, Case, Cook, Cotton, Curtis, Dole, Dominick, Fannin, Fong, Goldwater, Goodell, Griffin, Gurney, Hansen, Hatfield, Hruska, Javits, Jordan (Idaho), Mathias, Miller, Mundt, Murphy, Packwood, Pearson, Percy, Prouty, Saxbe, Schweiker, Scott, Smith, Stevens, Thurmond, Tower, Williams (Del.) and Young (N.D.).

AGAINST CONFIRMATION: 16

DEMOCRATS (16): Allen, Cranston, Harris, Hartke, Kennedy, McCarthy, McGovern, McIntyre, Moss, Muskie, Nelson, Pastore, Pell, Proxmire, Tydings and Young (Ohio).

REPUBLICANS: None.

Paired for confirmation: Eastland (D), Metcalf (D) and Dirksen (R). Paired against confirmation: Inouye, Mansfield and Ribicoff, all Democrats.

Will Black Community Give Nixon a Break?

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

The black community continues to pull apart, with the militants pushing for a sort of voluntary apartheid and the moderates grudgingly endorsing Roy Wilkins of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. He said, apropos of the intransigents' demands for separate "all-black studies departments" in the schools, that if Negroes "are going to live in a white world, they had better learn what the white boys are learning."

The split is going to bedevil the new Nixon Administration if any fumbles are made in dealing with the quite legitimate Negro need for self-respect. All that can be said at the moment is that Richard Nixon's team is approaching the problem with humility, and is trying hard. The pledge to improve the Negro's condition, offered by Nixon at the Hotel Pierre in New York when he was still only a President-elect, was assuredly sincere. The problem of recruiting able Negroes to work in the Nixon government remains acute, however. There is just enough suspicion left over from last fall's campaign to keep black volunteers from stepping forward to take Washington jobs.

It's a matter of finding representative black moderates to risk the charge of "Uncle Tomism." A couple of things have been done, however, to get someone to bell the cat.

Bob Finch, the new secretary of health, education and welfare, was careful to keep from ruffling black feelings when he picked an advisory committee to help him staff his own organization. The Finch group contained only one black, James Farmer, former head of

drawing up a list of qualified Negroes that might be induced to work for the Nixon Administration. The argument presented by Dr. Matthew and Dr. Clark is that if whites are willing to make sacrifices to take political jobs, Negroes cannot afford to hang back.

An effort will be made to assure capable Negroes that they need not fear being among the first to take sub-Cabinet positions. The Matthew-Clark list will presumably go to Vice President Spiro Agnew; it will be interesting to see what becomes of it.

The Negroes' distrust of the Nixon Administration surfaced at the Hotel Pierre meeting in New York when Dr. Nathan Wright, chairman of the Black Power Conference, objected to the presence of White House urbanologist Moynihan.

"When we have white people advising a man of responsibility on black affairs,"

said Dr. Wright, "this is plantationism."

Not all the Negro leaders at the Nixon meeting, however, were as touchy as Dr. Wright. The Rev. Ralph Abernathy, Martin Luther King's successor as head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, was willing to grant Mr. Nixon the right to choose his own counsel.

The truly significant happening on the race front as the Nixon Administration takes office is Roy Wilkins' threat to test the legality of all-black studies departments in the schools.

Demands for all-black studies under the complete control of blacks have cropped up simultaneously at so many colleges that they have had columnist Drew Pearson taking a leaf out of the late Sen. Joe McCarthy's book and talking about a "revolutionary conspiracy." This is strange language for Pear-

son. Wilkins doesn't go so far as to insinuate that there is revolutionary staff work involved in making "non-negotiable" demands on college administrators. Yet the fact that a Negro leader of Mr. Wilkins' stature is willing to speak out against black extremists augurs well for Mr. Nixon's chances to gain the cooperation of the huge moderate black community, at least on a tentative try-it-out basis.

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CLEAVER'S REPLACEMENT—When Black Panther militant Eldridge Cleaver began a series of lectures on the Berkeley campus last fall, it created a controversy that resulted in the state legislature's censure of the university; but Cleaver continued the non-credit talks anyway. Now that Cleaver is a fugitive for jumping bail in an alleged murder case, his place as Berkeley "lecturer" has been taken by SDS founder and self-proclaimed professional revolutionary Tom Hayden.



Moderate civil rights leader Roy Wilkins is among the Negro leaders that the new Administration is trying to reach.

the Congress of Racial Equality who lost out in November in a House race to represent the Bedford-Stuyvesant area of Brooklyn in Washington.

Dr. Thomas Matthew, the Negro neurosurgeon from New York who has started so many black self-help businesses, let his able white lieutenant, Tom Ryan, substitute for him on the Finch committee.

The other members of the committee—John Veneman, a California assemblyman; Pat Moynihan, Nixon's White House urbanologist; Mrs. Patricia Hitt; Dr. Neil Solomon of Johns Hopkins University; Dr. Paul McCloskey of California; Herbert Cornuelle, head of the United Fruit Co.; and Dr. Sidney Tickton—have been concerned with the "little niceties" that show true concern for black problems.

Meanwhile, Dr. Matthew and Dr. Kenneth Clark, Negro leaders who believe in "Black Power" but not in black separatism, have been busy

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CAMERA READY COPY REQUIRED:
By March 25, 1969

MINIMUM AD SIZE: 1/4 Page

ANNIVERSARY ISSUE RATES

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N.Y. Poverty Scandals Could Bring Down OEO

The massive, labyrinthine New York City poverty scandal that burst into public view two weeks ago (see last week's *Human Events*) will likely have repercussions far beyond the city limits. The future of the city's anti-poverty "superagency," the Human Resources Administration (HRA), is in dire jeopardy, and if HRA falls, many federal poverty experts conclude, the entire nationwide "anti-poverty" structure may come tumbling after.

Already federal officials, including outgoing HEW Secretary Wilbur Cohen, are urging that "proved" poverty programs be transferred out of the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) into established government departments where stricter financial and program controls may be exercised. The new Nixon Administration is expected to concur in this action and will seek to impose tighter regulations, removed from political pressures, on programs for the poor so the New York City scandal will not be repeated elsewhere.

It is impossible to assess exactly how much has been stolen from the public coffers in New York.

The *New York Times*, in leading off a superb investigatory report on HRA, would only guess that "uncounted millions" have been withheld from the city's poor. An assistant in the office of New York County District Attorney Frank Hogan, which has conducted its own investigation of HRA wrongdoing, estimated that "the loss to the taxpayers is a rock-bottom \$8 million and probably several times that."

Although the federal government has been slow to act in correcting HRA abuses, both the Labor Department and OEO have conducted investigations and are fully aware of the desperate situation. Stanley Rutenberg, an assistant secretary of labor involved in poverty projects, claims that "it's not problems in HRA, it's a crisis."

At last word the government had given HRA a "last chance" of six months to clean up its administrative chaos and institute financial safeguards against fund abuses. If this June 31 deadline is not met, the government says it will appoint a federal trustee to operate HRA. This appointment, all concerned are convinced, would spell doom for the superagency.

Not incidentally, amidst any ashes of the HRA will be found the cremated political fortunes of the youthful mayor who just a short time ago was being touted by many as the Republican party's brightest future star: John Vliet Lindsay, the architect of the Human Resources Administration. Lindsay realizes what he has riding on HRA and has laid his fraying reputation on the line.

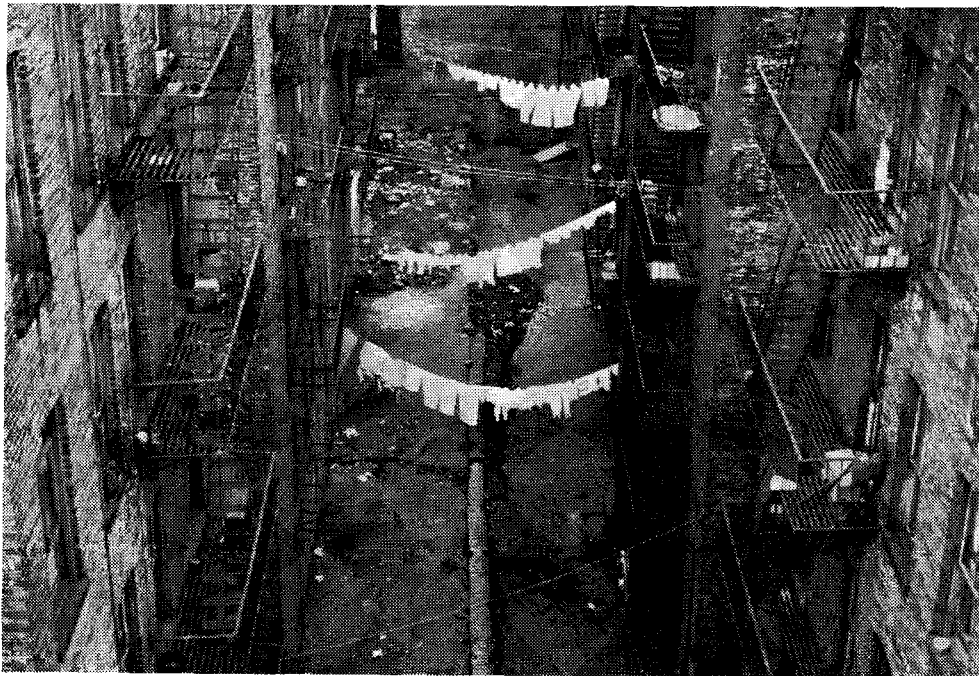
When the scandal broke in public Lindsay defended his agency, claiming it has "checks and balances that are pretty good," and lauded HRA administrator Mitchell Ginsburg as a "very tight-reined, a very tough administrator." Not many are buying this defense, however, and Lindsay's chances of being re-elected mayor this year are looking exceedingly dim; significantly, the hitherto ambitious GOP politician has not yet said he will even seek re-election.

It was a different story when the handsome New York mayor announced the creation of HRA back in August 1966, declaring it would make the nation's largest metropolis

a "model community of the country."

The "superagency" tag was attached to HRA because it was essentially an omnipotent overseer of the city's several welfare/social action/poverty services, conceived by Lindsay and his social advisers to cut through bureaucratic red tape to quickly reach needy citizens with available federal, state and city aid.

Falling under the HRA umbrella were



The poverty in New York City is not being helped by the continued graft and corruption so rampant in many of the taxpayer-funded anti-poverty programs under Mayor John Lindsay.

New York's welfare-dispensing Department of Social Services, the Community Development Agency, which activates poverty programs devised by a Council Against Poverty, the Youth Service Agency, the Addiction Service Agency and the Manpower and Career Development Agency, a job-training program. The HRA budget for the current fiscal year is \$1.5 billion, with more than \$1.34 billion of this going exclusively to the welfare program (one million New Yorkers—or one out of every eight residents—are now on the welfare rolls). It is in the remaining \$150 million that the scandals have cropped up.

It was not long before the superagency ran into financial troubles. In 1967 the Neighborhood Youth Corps, a Manpower and Career Development Agency project heavily funded by the U.S. Department of Labor, found that over \$250,000 disappeared into the pockets of some corps members who arranged to receive duplicate checks or to alter checks to increase their \$30-per-week take-home pay.

In early 1968 a team of federal poverty investigators released a report entitled "Absence of Fiscal Responsibility in the Human Resources Administration, City of New York," and in the summer of last year several HRA employees were arrested for embezzling close to \$1 million in poverty funds.

But these problems were peanuts compared to the current scandals. New York City, says recently retired Secretary of Labor Willard W. Wirtz, has the worst administrative chaos of any anti-poverty agency in the nation. "We've had problems in a few other cities," said Wirtz, "but nothing like New York." This theme was echoed by a public accounting firm hired by the government to investigate HRA finances. Its conclusion: "HRA is not fiscally responsible and should not be the custodian of federal funds."

Documentation of the many episodes in the current scandal consumed thousands of lines of type in a book-length, four-day *New York Times* report on HRA. The results often read like a computerized version of *Topkapi*, with international intrigue, elaborate bilking schemes, a gang of roguish, high-living technological bandits and even a Hollywood movie star:

- The undisputed "stars" of the poverty scandal are a group of bright young men who set out from Durham, N.C.,

to make their fortune in New York. Through brainpower and helping each other, the four leaders of the "Durham Mob" landed responsible jobs in the financial department of the Neighborhood Youth Corps where, in a matter of months, they arranged to steal close to \$2 million in poverty funds through a clever scheme of rigging city computers to pay non-existent corpsmen for work never done on jobs that never existed.

The leaders of the "mob" apparently might have gone undetected had not a city policeman stopped to give a routine parking ticket to a car rented by one of the culprits; in the rear seat of the auto the cop found 105 uncashed, bogus Youth Corps checks. When the four leaders returned to the auto, they were arrested for grand larceny.

As a sidelight, friends of the "mob," whose number was estimated at around 25 and all of whom were under 30, revealed that each week the computer gangsters would collect 102 fraudulent paychecks (each worth a minimum of \$38.80), and take them to a lavish Manhattan apartment where they would spend two days in revelry, endorsing the checks and filling out bogus time cards for the following weeks. "They lived—beautiful people," said the friend.

- It was later discovered that one member of the "Durham Mob," 28-year-old Sidney Hall, an assistant payroll officer at HRA, had a record of two arrests for forgery back in his North Carolina home. New York poverty officials were never alerted to the past record because Hall's superior, and the man who hired him, was Charles Clinton, an old friend from Durham and a "mob" leader.

- At the same time federal and city investigators were pouring over HRA's book late last year, an unidentified culprit stole seven blank checks worth a total of \$1,017.615 from an HRA checkbook. Four of the checks later turned up in a Swiss bank and a fifth

was used by a "very distinguished man with a slight British accent" who tried to buy a house in Los Angeles. In endorsing over the stolen check, the mysterious Britisher used a phony license number, a false name and the unlisted phone number of a Hollywood film star—who of course knew nothing of the venture. The real estate agent quickly got wise and the check was never cashed.

Similarly, the four checks that traveled to Switzerland never actually had any money drawn against them. Police in the Netherlands arrested a 40-year-old naturalized American who attempted to draw on one of the checks at an Amsterdam bank; Interpol, the international police organization, is still seeking a second man in connection with the attempted fraud. Five of the stolen checks are now back in the hands of HRA officials, while two are still at large. While the city has not actually yet lost any money on the swindle, it is suspected the original check thieves may have sold them to other individuals overseas.

- Two HRA employees—including Charles Clinton, a "Durham Mob" plotter—last August proposed a plan to federal officials for "safeguarding" Youth Corps funds from thievery. Within a month Clinton had been charged with grand larceny and the other employee was accused of having embezzled \$22,000.

- Some \$6 million in Labor Department funds was intercepted in transit to the New York City controller and put in the Youth Corps bank account; the illegally obtained money was then used to pay for suspicious "overtime" work by corps employees. When contacted by the *New York Times*, the HRA fiscal officer charged with intercepting the funds, Irving Roberts, replied: "I have been instructed by my superiors not to talk about this to reporters."

- One employee in the Community Development Agency, an HRA adjunct, was fired from one project after being accused of cashing fraudulent HRA checks, only to be rehired a short time later by another project. Al W. McIntosh was fired as executive director of Bedford-Stuyvesant Sports Unlimited, a development agency program, for allegedly cashing 34 bogus HRA checks worth a total of \$1,300. Less than six months later McIntosh was hired as executive director—at \$175 a week—of the Crown Heights Planning Committee, also an agency of the Community Development Agency.

Asked why this accused forgerer was rehired at the public's expense, an HRA spokesman lamely replied that the central office has no power to tell local groups who and who not to hire.

Although both federal and city poverty officials have long known of the financial-administrative chaos—and the above are only a few examples—in HRA and its subordinate agencies, precious little real action has been taken to improve the situation.

Last year, for example, after two summers of fiscal irregularities in the Neighborhood Youth Corps, city officials instructed HRA payroll personnel to "disregard all controls" in order to get the corps' teen-age enrollees paid; subsequently over 8,000 bogus weekly paychecks were swindled out of the NYC's bankroll.

The city has finally begun reorganiza-

Continued on page 15

Rogers Renews State Department 'Housecleaning' Pledge

From the Allen-Goldsmith Report

President Nixon's campaign pledge to "houseclean" the State Department will be fulfilled to the hilt.

That was the unequivocal assurance given by incoming Secretary of State William Rogers to members of the influential House Foreign Affairs Committee at a private meeting. The legislators sought the conference with him, and his two top assistants, for an informal exchange of views.

Foremost among the questions raised by the congressmen was the new President's promise to "houseclean" the huge department that Rogers will head. The so-called "bureaucratic establishment" of the agency has been under increasing attack in recent years on a number of counts.

The retention of certain key-placed department officials has caused much backstage criticism in Republican circles. That was made pointedly clear to Rogers at this unpublicized meeting.

He was particularly questioned about the continuance of Ambassador Harlan Cleveland as U.S. representative to NATO. Rogers explained that was only temporary.

"There is an important NATO meeting in May," he said, "and we felt it was advisable to retain Mr. Cleveland for that as he is thoroughly versed in NATO affairs. We are going to have our hands full for a while taking over the reins in the department, and we won't have the time we deem necessary to replace him with the kind of a successor we want."

"So for the time being, we asked Mr. Cleveland to carry on. We are doing the same with others. But I can assure you that is only temporary. President Nixon meant every word when he said the State Department will be thoroughly housecleaned. I am fully in agreement with him on the need for that, and as his secretary of state

will do my utmost to execute that commitment."

No decision has yet been made on a replacement for Administrator William Gaud of the Agency for International Development—which administers the multi-billion-dollar foreign aid program.

In response to questioning, Rogers stated Gaud will definitely be eliminated

in a few months. But while a number of possible successors are under consideration, no decision is likely for some time.

"Running AID is an extremely difficult and complex job," said Rogers. "It isn't going to be easy to find the right man. In many ways, administering foreign aid is a thankless undertaking, so it will likely take some time before we are able to get the official we want."

Rogers would not comment on the new Administration's likely policy on foreign aid; whether it will be reduced or increased. He told the lawmakers this is a decision that will be made by President Nixon after full consideration of all the factors involved, both international and domestic.

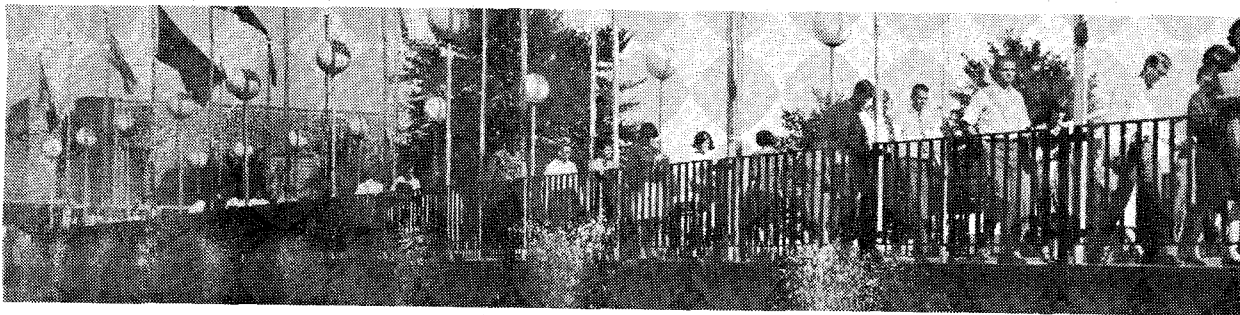
"We are fully aware of the widespread criticism of foreign aid," said Rogers. "We also know that drastic measures are in order to reorganize and reshape it. But that will take time. We want to be sure we know exactly what we are doing when we do act."

"On this question as well as on President Nixon's pledge to houseclean the State Department, you can be certain nothing will be left undone to make good. But it can't be done overnight. If it's to be really meaningful and effective, it will take careful planning and organizing as well as decisive and forceful execution."

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Secretary of State William Rogers is sworn in as his wife and the President look on. Despite some early conservative apprehension over the retaining of certain State officers, Rogers has pledged to revamp the much criticized department.



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McCarthy's Committee Shift Tips Political Hand

Minnesota senator will base comeback on Government Operations Committee Probes

By PAUL SCOTT

Sen. Eugene McCarthy's surprise shift from the choice Senate Foreign Relations Committee to the Government Operations Committee is an integral part of his strategy for a political comeback.

Taking a leaf from the headline-making notebook of the late Sen. Joseph McCarthy, the unsuccessful presidential candidate plans to use the wide-ranging investigative powers of the Government Operations Committee to stay in the national spotlight.

As outlined in private discussions with his key followers, McCarthy's strategy calls for using his new Senate forum to build a national following by attacking what he terms the growing dangers of the nation's military-industrial complex.

Immediate objective of McCarthy's campaign will be to create a new anti-war, anti-military issue to replace the fading anti-Viet Nam war issue which he successfully used to force President Johnson's political retirement.

McCarthy is counting on the new issue to reunite and rally the coalition of militant peace, student, Negro and labor groups that supported his presidential candidacy.

If his new campaign catches fire, the liberal Minnesota Democrat will seek re-election to the Senate in 1970 as an independent. A victory in Minnesota will then be used to build a national Peace party in time for the 1972 presidential election.

Retiring Vice President Hubert Humphrey, also planning a political comeback, privately conceded to campaign aides recently that McCarthy would be hard to beat in a three-way Senate race.

In selecting the Government Operations Committee as his new base of operations in the Senate, McCarthy will have access to the best investigative staff in Congress.

The Government Operations Committee produces little legislation and until a few years ago was considered a minor Senate committee. Headed by veteran Sen. John McClellan (D.-Ark.), the committee's assignment is to keep an eye on the performance of government agencies.

The committee's limitless jurisdiction has been used by McClellan to investigate virtually every phase of American life, from riots to black militant gangs, from urban problems to the Defense Department.

The committee's hearings usually attract wide TV coverage and pack the caucus room in the Old Senate Office Building. A subcommittee chairmanship, which McCarthy hopes to obtain, is a license to keep one's name before the public and create issues.

McCarthy has said in conversations and in public statements that he wants to reform the Defense Department and cut down its influence on foreign and domestic policies.

When asked why he left the much sought-after Foreign Relations Committee to go to the Government Operations Committee, McCarthy replied by quoting Marshall McLuhan's statement that "operations is policy."

Aides say McCarthy feels he can more effectively accomplish his political objectives with a Government Operations

subcommittee chairmanship than on any other Senate committee.

Tip-off of McCarthy's new strategy came in early January when his backers began circulating an article he wrote for a national magazine charging that the Defense Department has become "the strongest independent power in world affairs" and had gone beyond "the effective control of the Congress."

In the article, McCarthy echoed the campus battle cry of militant student groups that colleges and universities are tailoring their direction in order to get defense grants.

He argued that the military by establishing draft criteria is influencing directly "the whole culture of America and the direction and tone of our national life."

With President Nixon scheduled to stress the buildup of U.S. strategic defenses during the first year of his Administration, McCarthy's campaign is bound to lead to an early confrontation with the new President.

Nixon Should Warn Allies

Sweden's Recognition of Ho Sets Bad Example

By EDGAR ANSEL MOWRER

Reports that Hanoi is delighted with Sweden's diplomatic recognition of North Viet Nam should surprise nobody. The real question is why Sweden gave such recognition, particularly at such a moment as this. Just when the North Vietnamese with their Viet Cong puppets, South Viet Nam and the United States are locked in a diplomatic struggle in Paris about "negotiations" to end the fighting, Sweden, a free country, gives a boost to the North Vietnamese.

To all intents and purposes, Stockholm is saying that Ho's regime is legitimate (although he has never had the shadow of free election) whereas the South Vietnamese government, which held one, is a rebel group that should submit to totalitarian communism.

What would Stockholm have said if the South Vietnamese, with equal right, were engaged in invading North Viet Nam in order to oust Ho? What would the Swedes have done if in that case the Soviet Union



Highlighting the extreme anti-Americanism found in many West European nations is this burning of the U.S. flag in Stockholm.

This is exactly what McCarthy and his political advisers say they want. They are convinced that such a confrontation could project McCarthy almost overnight into national prominence again.

Note: The late Sen. Robert Kennedy first became widely known as counsel for the Government Operations Committee during their televised hearings into labor racketeering.

★ ★ ★

Former Alabama Gov. George Wallace is laying the groundwork to keep his third-party organization alive and active.

A newsletter, which may turn into a national weekly newspaper, will be launched shortly in order to raise funds and serve as a country-wide communication link between Wallace and his millions of followers.

More than 900,000 persons, whose names were selected from those contributing to Wallace's 1968 campaign, will be asked to become charter subscribers.

Under the newsletter's tentative format, it will carry regular articles by Wallace, other conservative politicians, writers, economists, foreign policy experts, and news about third-party movements in the different states.

In discussing his plans recently with former campaign aides, Wallace stated:

"I've got to keep the movement alive and active to keep Nixon from moving too far to the left. If he isn't a Wallace President, I'm going to run again in 1972."

Other future actions by Wallace are expected to be greatly influenced by a February 1st meeting of his followers in Texas.

Supporters from 45 states will meet in Dallas to discuss how to make Wallace's third party a permanent organization throughout the country.

Under discussion will be whether the party should field state and congressional candidates in 1970 or just back conservative candidates in either the Democratic or Republican party.

or Red China had come to Ho's rescue?

Why do unquestionably democratic Swedes (with some other democratic European governments, but not West Germany) give hospitality to deserters from the American armed forces in Europe?

Sweden maintains a modern military establishment, which may one day include nuclear weapons.

Though up to the ears in welfare socialism, with its concurrent high rate of suicides, the Swedes are not Communists. During World War II they refused to allow Western forces to cross their territory to support the Finns against Soviet invasion. But that was because they themselves feared an invasion by Hitler.

Most of them were delighted with the restoration to freedom of Norway, Denmark, the Netherlands, Belgium and France.

Why then does this once warrior people (under Kings like Gustavus Adolphus the most military in Europe) side with Communist Ho against South Viet Nam and the United States?

A conclusive answer is elusive. This writer's opinion is that Sweden's condemnation of our defense of South Viet Nam echoes, in a more violent form, the majority opinion in most West European democracies.

How explain that European peoples that owe their freedom from Nazi domination partly and their post-war freedom from Soviet communism exclusively, to American arms, disapprove the military protection we are giving South Viet Nam?

Here the answers are, I think, more apparent. Many Europeans believe that our involvement in Viet Nam decreases the likelihood that in case of need, the United States will risk nuclear war to defend them. So to hell with a people that has never enjoyed true free-

dom! After all, is Ho's tyranny much worse than that of Diem? (It is, but these Europeans dare not admit the fact.)

Though many pretend to believe that the Soviet danger to Europe has virtually vanished (among others, Jacques Servan-Schreiber and Charles de Gaulle), the American armed presence in Europe enables them to skimp their own military expenses—ha, ha!

All this seems shocking. But how can we Americans forget that in condemning or sneering at our effort in Viet Nam, European critics are merely echoing prominent American churchmen, academics and politicians of what we may call the "American dovecote"? Or that the latter can do so only because the Kennedy-Johnson Administration preferred to treat the deaths of 37,000 of our finest as a sort of police action hampered by tacit agreements with the enemy?

Now can we blame the Swedes too much for giving diplomatic recognition to bloody-handed Ho?

Recognition by allies would be another kettle of fish. What if some of these, in addition to supplying Ho with things he greatly needs, extend diplomatic recognition to his Red regime?

My own answer is simple: Our President should immediately inform all U.S. allies that diplomatic recognition of North Viet Nam by any of them will automatically be followed by a declaration of *no further military protection by the United States* to the recognizing countries.

Perhaps LBJ has already issued such a quiet warning. If not, the sooner his successor makes this clear to potential recognizers, the better for the health of our alliances.

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Czech Anti-Soviet Resistance Still Flourishes

By JAMES T. FARLEY JR.

Russian girl: "Ivan, where have you been since August?"
 Russian soldier: "Czechoslovakia."
 Russian girl: "Did you see the counter-revolution there?"
 Russian soldier: "Yes."
 Russian girl: "And where is your comrade, Vanich?"
 Russian soldier: "Siberia."
 Russian girl: "Why?"
 Russian soldier: "He did not see the counter-revolution."

Intelligence sources in the West have reported large-scale movements to Siberia of Russian troops who were in the first wave of the invasion of Czechoslovakia. No amount of brainwashing could ever undo the psychological damage which must have been inflicted by what they encountered in that country.

I spent seven days in Prague and one in Bratislava at Christmas time. My traveling companion, Dana Rohrabacher, had spent several weeks in Prague last July. On this trip he noted that it was like a totally different country. None of the expected joy of the Christmas season was apparent; indeed, the spirit was somber.

"We learned what freedom really meant from February to August," one Prague student told us. A poster hanging on a wall in his home reflected the mood of the country: It showed an eye, with a large red tear and the inscription "21-8-1968" (date of the invasion).

In our many conversations with students, they spoke frequently and with feeling about the invasion. They mentioned the so-called "period of freedom" prior to the invasion only when asked.

In the central part of Prague is St. Wenceslaus Square where, with the singular exception of the main broadcasting station, most of the confrontations with Soviet troops took place. In front of the statue of the "good king," a 14-year-old boy was shot and killed by a Russian tank; his crime: waving a Czechoslovakian flag.

The statue has since become a sort of national shrine to those killed in the invasion (estimated conservatively by one student, a Communist at that, to be around 250 in Prague alone). At any hour of the day or night we could observe knots of people standing there, placing wreaths, lighting candles, praying, or just staring.

We constructed two wreaths, with crossed Czechoslovakian and American flags and the inscription (in both Czech and English): "We are with you—we think about you always. From two U.S. students." When we placed them, we received silent nods from the people standing in the bitterly cold night air.

Just as we finished, a man in civilian clothes grabbed my arm and shouted, "You cannot do this. You are Americans. This is a Czechoslovakian affair!" He turned to the crowd and told them the same thing in Czech. While he was doing this, I asked a Czechoslovakian student who was with us to explain to the crowd that we were in sympathy with their nation, but the student just winked at me and said, "Wait and watch."

I became apprehensive as I heard the crowd grumble, then start to shout—but it was the man in civilian clothes they were jeering at, not us. After just a few moments, he walked, in fact, he ran away from the scene.

Some of the people turned to us and thanked us in Czech or just nodded. Our student friend explained that the crowd accused the man of being a Soviet provocateur ("Which he was," our friend told us) and that he had better leave since his life was not safe there.

Later that evening we returned to find both wreaths gone. Our Czechoslovakian friends constructed two more wreaths for us and we returned to the Square with them the following morning. Much to our surprise, the original wreaths were back.

The mystery was cleared up when a



The author, Jim Farley (in white raincoat) along with companion Dana Rohrabacher (wearing hat), visits the statue of St. Wenceslaus in Prague. Despite the long history of Western betrayal of the Czech nation in 30 years, the Czechs still look to the United States for hope.

young boy, one of the many unofficial caretakers of the wreaths, came and spoke with us. He explained that the police had come during the night and taken our wreaths (similar wreaths from British, Swedish and Yugoslavian students were left untouched). He retrieved them from the trash barrel where they were thrown and replaced them. Almost solemnly, he promised to retrieve them each evening, and he put our new wreaths in a place of honor at the base of the statue.

We received more invitations to visit people than we could possibly have accepted (we never had to stay at a hotel the entire time we were there). One evening when we arrived at the home of a student for dinner, his mother heartily congratulated us "on the success of your Cosmonauts."

She ushered us inside where we watched the recovery of the Apollo crew members on television and drank a toast to their success. We heard car horns honking in the streets below. The family proudly told us that of all the satellite nations, Yugoslavia and Rumania were the only others allowed to carry television coverage of the Apollo mission.

This was typical of the identification with those two nations. "Tito will fight for us . . . if the West won't," said a Czechoslovakian soldier, with perhaps some misplaced optimism. Throughout our visit, we were reminded that the West abandoned—indeed, betrayed—Czechoslovakia to Hitler. The feeling remains that a deaf ear was again turned towards Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968.

Still, there is a warm feeling toward the West. The Czechoslovak Republic was founded in Washington, D.C., in 1918; the first (and beloved) president, Thomas Garrett Masaryk, was married to an American. Czech TV proudly noted that the mother of astronaut Frank Borman was from Czechoslovakia. Almost all of the people we spoke with said optimistically, "Our hope is with President Nixon."

One of our questions was, "Why wasn't there more armed resistance during the invasion?" Czech students answered that there was a lot more of it than the news media in the West indicated and gave us photographs to prove their point. As to fighting over and above this, they told us that they had learned "the lesson of Hungary"; namely, that armed resistance is futile without outside support.

- Anti-Russian and anti-Communist graffiti is displayed all over the country. Almost every shop window has a picture of Dubcek and Svoboda. Almost every

wall has an inscription like "Ivan go home" or "Moscow 1800 kilometers" or "Murderers." Russian soldiers are kept busy washing swastikas off their vehicles. Burned-out buildings often bear the inscription: "Who is responsible? The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia."

- Every school and factory has an "action committee" ready to implement a strike at a moment's notice. A worker-student alliance, which would be envied by our American Left, has shown its ability to almost totally shut down the nation.

- An air of grim determination pervades the atmosphere. People display their national flag with enormous pride; to say that there is a nationalistic feeling would be a terrible understatement. "We have tasted freedom and now we won't rest until we can enjoy it again," a female medical student told me.

The most important part of this atmosphere is the tremendous unity among the peoples of Czechoslovakia. When we offered to come back to the United States and raise money for resistance efforts by students, several student lead-

ers told us that the workers were supplying them with more money than they currently needed. Everyone told us that the invasion had healed the rift between Czechs and Slovaks. According to a Slovak student, "We don't want to fight World War I all over again. We are united against the invaders now."

Defiance of the Soviet invaders is most commonly left to the young.

We attended the Second International Beat Festival in Prague. Comparable to similar shows in large American cities, it included performances by groups from Sweden, England, Finland, Holland and Czechoslovakia. A very popular Czechoslovak singer, Peter Novack, sang a blatantly anti-Russian song which ended with the sound of machine gun bullets and his falling on the stage as if dead. He was wildly cheered by his young audience. (Somebody must have wondered who taught a section of the audience the cheer, "Viva, viva . . . Ole.")

Still, most of our meetings were in isolated places or in corners of dark pubs. We never forgot that we were behind the Iron Curtain. We traveled like the impoverished students we were, complete with knapsacks on our shoulders, a cowboy hat and a banjo. We were conspicuous enough not to arouse suspicion and our baggage, crammed with photographs, underground pamphlets and other literature, and recording tape, was never even checked when we left the country, much to our relief. (The tape was made into a four-part radio series, "Czechoslovakia: Then, Today, Tomorrow" which is being aired on WBAI in New York and KPFA and KPAC in California.)

When we left our friends in Prague, we told them that we wished we were staying to aid them in their struggle. They told us, though, that we must go back to the United States and fight our battles there. We asked which battles they were referring to, and they reminded us that from February 1968 until the invasion in August, they were able to buy the Western press, including the international edition of the *Herald Tribune*. They told us, "You must go back and fight your American Communists in places like Columbia."

When Dana Rohrabacher and I returned to the United States we assumed leadership of the National Student Committee for Freedom in Czechoslovakia (423 East 71st Street, New York, N.Y. 10021) with the intent of maintaining this committee as an active liaison between the Nixon Administration and Czechoslovakian student resistance groups. In an open letter to the then President-elect we urged Mr. Nixon to adopt the following three-point program to restore freedom within Czechoslovakia:

1. Maintain contact with Czechoslovakian resistance groups.
2. Boycott all trade and cultural exchanges with aggressor members of the Warsaw Pact.
3. Take up the cause of freedom in Czechoslovakia in the United Nations in an effort to end the Soviet policy of neo-colonialism.

As we stated in our letter to Mr. Nixon: "The tides are running against the cause of freedom. The people of Czechoslovakia, we, the Students of America, and history itself, look to you at this crucial time. We hope that as leader of this great nation, we will be able to say after having observed your performance, 'Our hope, our faith, is with Mr. Nixon.'"

Mr. Farley, 20, a sophomore communications arts major at Fordham University, is chairman of New York State Young Americans for Freedom and National Co-Chairman of the Student Committee for a Free Czechoslovakia.

Nixon Should Reject Pay Raise

From the Washington Daily News

We think President Nixon should decline with thanks the \$100,000 pay raise Congress has voted him.

And we also think he should tell Congress this is no time to institute all those other fancy raises for top government officials which a special commission and President Johnson recommended. (These raises, which go into effect within 30 days unless rejected or modified in Congress, provide such sharp increases as from \$30,000 to \$42,500 a year for members of Congress; \$39,500 to \$60,000 for Supreme Court justices, etc.)

Speaking of the proposed congressional pay increase only, we think Rep. Taft of Ohio put it well for the whole batch when he said:

"Until we move toward a tax reduction and a truly balanced budget, we shouldn't even talk of congressional pay increases."

In our books, the job of President of the United States is worth \$200,000 a year. And, if our financial affairs were in order, we would have no special qualms over a \$42,500 salary for congressmen or \$60,000 for Supreme Court justices.

But here we're in a situation in which inflation is so bad (caused almost entirely by the spending policies of the outgoing Administration and the past Congresses) that the man who will be Mr. Nixon's treasury secretary says he will devote every effort to stop inflation, even if it means a higher rate of joblessness.

Does anyone think a higher rate of joblessness (which could occur,

if inflation is to be really slowed) jibes with granting pay raises to top government officials ranging from 30 to 100 per cent?

And it should be remembered that the budget balances forecast by the outgoing Johnson Administration for this year and next are due solely to the 10 per cent surtax and the hope for its one-year renewal. Eliminate or curtail the surtax and you go back automatically to huge federal deficits, unless there is some hard-boiled retrenchment.

This pay raise business seems a good issue for President Nixon to speak out on.

There is no better issue, we think, to let the country know at the outset that we're really going to have a change in Washington.

□ □ □

DEFINITE ALIGNMENT — "The \$10-million-a-year trade pact that India has signed with Communist North Korea can be construed only as a slap at the United States of America at a critical time in diplomacy. Since 1946 taxpayers of the United States have underwritten \$6.585 billion in aid to India, which professes international non-alignment, with not even good will to show in return. Now when North Korea is stepping up her aggression against United Nations forces in South Korea, India agrees to ship military strategic goods to Pyongyang. Whatever India labels this diplomacy, we can only regard it as alignment with the enemy." —From the San Diego Union



The very size and unwieldy bureaucracies of the nation's universities help bring about the restless turmoil so common today.

Four Basic Faults

What's Wrong With Colleges?

By RUSSELL KIRK

Readers of this column, and people who hear me speechify, are forever asking me, "What's gone wrong with our colleges and universities?" Here are some succinct answers.

First, we have far too many students. At least half of those undergraduates already on our campuses haven't the foggiest notion of why they're present. Ill-prepared by their secondary schooling, and uninterested in the higher learning, these young people are easy prey for the professorial demagogue or the student agitator.

Second, we don't have enough good professors and instructors. The indiscriminate expansion of college and university, ever since World War II, has caused a demand for college teachers which cannot be supplied without a marked decline in the quality of the average new instructor. Moreover, the intensive, specialized training of the young Ph.D. (when it isn't a sham) has little to do either with successful teaching or with the attainment of wisdom.

Third, the typical college curriculum is a loathsome mess, offering a smattering of everything, doing nothing well. Many students come to despise their course of studies—and with reason. Sacking the administration building is more fun.

Fourth, the college and the university—particularly the latter, and not even the great private universities are exempt—have become the servants of big government and big industry, engaging in elaborate research undertakings at

the expense of the works of the mind. Humane learning is neglected in favor of sociological boondoggling, and pure science declines into the service of technology.

There are many other afflictions from which the higher learning in America suffers today; but those I'll mention another time. Is anything being done to remedy the four diseases listed above?

Nothing much. On the contrary, the federal government and the big foundations, so far, actually labor to make matters worse.

Consider the recent report of an offshoot of the Carnegie foundations, the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, headed by Dr. Clark Kerr, whose policies as chancellor of the University of California ended in the present chaos of that complex and bewildered institution.

Dr. Kerr and his Carnegie colleagues would have the Nixon Administration find the money to build right away, 50 junior colleges and 50 senior colleges—and hundreds more eventually; crowd into college, by 1976, practically every high school graduate—and perhaps some young folk who can't get through high school; assume a third of the total cost of all higher education; give loans or scholarships, regardless of merit, to practically everybody, and so on and on.

Just such policies on a smaller scale, commencing during the Truman Administration, led to our present academic discontents. Our obvious need is to improve the quality of high school instruction, rather than to inundate every campus by a wave of badly schooled young people who are intensely bored with intellectual disciplines; but Kerr & Co. don't worry much about that.

Where would we find the professors and instructors for such Instant Ivory Towers? Where, indeed, would we find the students—unless we made college compulsory? How, amid the total confusion of such a mad endeavor at "equality of opportunity," could we achieve qualitative reform of the curriculum—and offer real intellectual opportunity to those worthy of it? Would we not create a thousand Berkeley campuses, minus the surviving intellectual merits of Berkeley? If this is progress—why, give me the New Left.

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To Each His Own

By MORRIE RYSKIND

A New York columnist hopefully suggests that our volcanic campuses have ceased erupting and notes, as proof, that the N.Y. Students for a Democratic Society voted against a militant demonstration in Washington to counter the Nixon inaugural parade.

Maybe—but I distrust Tet Truces. Certainly in California the lava still flows. Here the SDS and its allies daily belch Vesuvian flames on our high schools and colleges, threatening to leave them buried as was Pompeii. And the flames, incidentally, are not merely metaphoric—many a building has been burned and with it valuable manuscripts and records.

And that—despite the New Yorker's optimism—is the general plight of the nation's academies. Recently Brandeis, Swarthmore, Wisconsin and Bluefield State (W. Va.) were added to the New Left's targets.

The ancients deemed such catastrophes the wrath of the gods, and consulted their oracles on how to propitiate them. But the gods—or the demons—of the New Left use no such go-betweens. They spell out, often in four-letter words, their terms for peace and make it clear their demands are non-negotiable.

Take, for example, that altogether preposterous clamor by militant blacks for courses in Swahili, "so that their culture will be recognized." All the evidence indicates that probably not one black slave who came here from Africa ever spoke Swahili as his native tongue. It was the language of the East African traders and tribesmen who captured the West Africans and sold them.

That is much as though Israel had made its official language not Hebrew, but the very bad German dialect of Adolf Hitler—hoping thus to preserve its "culture." But anything for peace—and so a number of colleges now have courses in Swahili and others are panting for qualified teachers. If you have a Bantu friend, tip him off.

Not that I have anything against Swahili—or, for that matter, Sanskrit. But we currently give high school diplomas to youngsters who don't know the difference between "who" and "whom," or "lie" and "lay." If, after 12 years of schooling, they can't speak English correctly, how will they master Swahili in four years?

And we have a militant Mexican-American on our Los Angeles School Board (he actually ran on his racial background) who now demands another Mexican-American on our junior college board in order to eliminate the customary English requirements which—he alleges—discriminate against his people. And there is even talk of teaching all subjects in Spanish, with English as a secondary tongue. And I thought Dewey had won the battle of Manila Bay.

Apropos, I note that Gaston County, N.C., is before the Supreme Court, seeking to reinstate

a written literacy test as a voting requirement. This is another example of Anglo snobbishness, of course. The court might be more amenable if the tests were in Swahili or Spanish.

I happen to think (1) that a sound knowledge of English, the great tongue of Shakespeare, Lincoln and Churchill, is the first desideratum in an American education. And (2) that the best way to answer nonsense is with nonsense. So please don't stop me even if you've heard this one:

It seems a group of Jewish students at Menlo-Atherton High School in California got fed up with the demands of the militant minorities and, tongue-in-cheek, decided to issue their own cultural ultimatum. With a straight face, their

leader presented the principal with the following non-negotiable demands:

1. Textbooks must be printed to read from right to left, as in Hebrew.
2. All vending machines must dispense only kosher foods.
3. Jewish history and culture must be added to the curriculum, and Hebrew must be a required language.
4. More Jewish teachers must be hired, and at least one administrator must be a Jewish mother.
5. All teachers and administrators must be okayed by the Jewish community.

And, "if these demands are not met, the Jewish students will march around the school, blow their ram's horns, and the school walls will come tumbling down."

Maybe I'm prejudiced, but I think these kids in their *reductio ad absurdum* show more horse sense than most of our college faculties.

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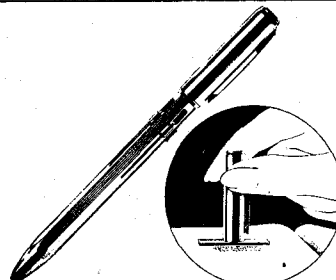
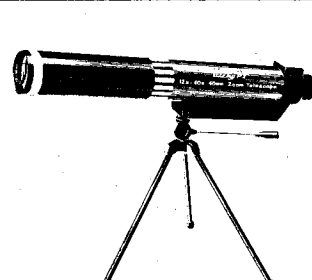
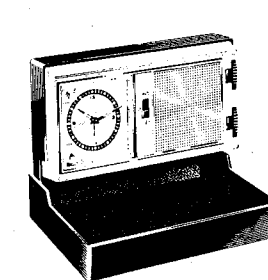
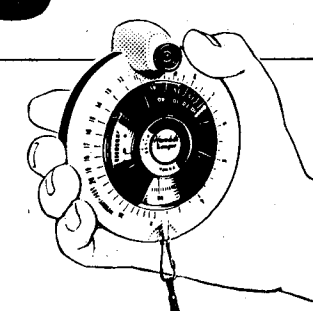
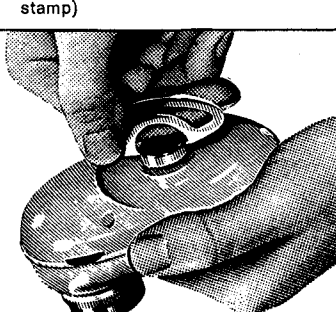
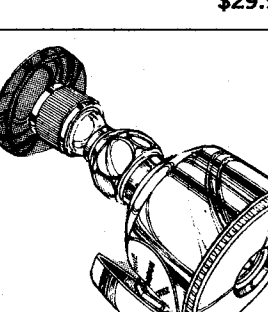
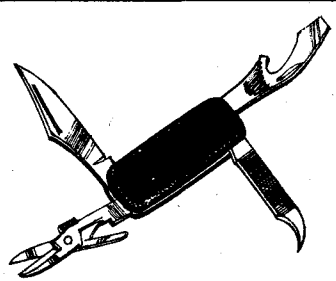
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Angry Police Set for National Union Drive

By VICTOR RIESEL

Soon it will become an unfair labor practice to bite or scratch a cop, hurl rocks, beer cans or invectives at him or tear down the picket signs he plans to wave on high.

The uniformed men are uniting in a coast-to-coast union. They've been guaranteed a national charter. They're writing their constitution. They have a name: The National Federation of Police Officers. And they're preparing a country-wide organizing campaign.

At the insistence of AFL-CIO President George Meany, they're writing a non-strike pledge into their bylaws. But nothing can prevent them from phoning in sick, as 91 members of the Warren, Ohio, force did the other day. Or from refusing to work voluntary overtime in Newark. Or from holding mass demonstrations or slowing up by working by the book.

Once in the mainstream of American labor, the police will find themselves protected by the union chiefs across the land. No community will be able to punish its patrolmen's local without considering counteraction by the "movement"—other city employees, garbage collectors, transit workers, and the central labor councils, generally headed by politically influential men directing generally influential political machines.

The policemen's federation will be an injection of energetic and fresh militancy inside labor because most police believe their lot is not a happy one indeed. It isn't the money. It's the principle.

The average cop is an average family man. He hates the slur inherent in the use of the guilty-before-proven-innocent phrase, "police brutality." He is furious over the description of the Chicago unpleasantness as a "police riot."

He realizes that by protecting schools and universities, or by policing the hippie and Yippie neighborhoods, he is automatically antagonizing much of the nation's youth and many of its intellectuals and opinion makers. From all this he wants surcease.

So he too is turning militant in his own fashion. His slogan now is unity with the rest of labor. And it is set to support him.

This was the tenor of the closed-door session in the New York headquarters of the American Federation of Musicians on January 10. Not only did the AFL-CIO blue ribbon committee of vice presidents approve the issuance of a national police charter, which can bring in some 300,000 men and women, but among the conferees was Lane Kirkland.

Mr. Kirkland is Mr. Meany's executive assistant, the intellectual in residence at national headquarters here in Washington. He is one of American labor's most influential leaders.

The charter will be issued to a group led by John Cassese, president of the New York Patrolmen's Benevolent Association, which, with its 22,000 members, will be the base of the new federation.

What does the union want? A spokesman puts it in this fashion:

"First, we want to create a definitive philosophy and communication among the many police groups in the U.S." (Some are in the State, County and Municipal Employees Union, led by President Jerry Wurf, among whose followers are some 9,000 policemen in 125 units. Mr. Wurf tells me he'll soon consult his own membership and

then confer with the new police union leaders on consolidating the forces or limning the jurisdictions.)

"Second, we want to be in one front so we can help each other negotiate with the municipalities. We tried this in Chicago and were denounced as rabble rousers and outsiders. But once



Washington, D.C., police man one of the entrances to the Capitol during a leftist demonstration. Fed-up policemen are turning to unionization as a means of fighting back against the attacks on them in past years.

we have a national union, we can assist each other as one fraternity.

"Third, we feel that the current state of affairs in law enforcement requires a strong voice to benefit police officers throughout the country. We will fight in all the legislative halls. Especially will we fight police decentralization."

The police federation spokesman pointed to the Black Panthers' drive for such decentralization in Oakland and many other cities—a concretely organized campaign to cut cities into districts, each with its own police commission and governing citizens board with the

power to hire and fire. This will be fought.

"Fourth, we will have a community of interest in upgrading national wage and working standards," he continued, "so we can improve recruiting results."

"And fifth, we want a continuous

community dialogue between the public and us."

All this will be based on traditional trade unionism. Certainly there will be job action. This drive may well be the dramatic trigger to a series of crises in the cities which would force the new secretary of labor, George Shultz, to call a conference on the public strike problem earlier than he had planned.

We'll see soon enough. The new police federation plans a national conference, its leaders say, of men from the forces of such cities as New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, Detroit, and the West Coast megalopolises.

Certainly it seems that the cop on the beat soon will be carrying a union label along with his night stick and gun.

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ALBANY'S \$100-M FLATS—"New York state is going to build a low-income housing project in Albany containing 442 apartments at a cost of \$18.4 million, or \$41,629 per apartment. The state plans to pay off the borrowed \$18.4 million over a 49-year period. Figuring in taxes, loan interest and principal, maintenance, etc., the annual cost is estimated at \$2,407,511, or \$5,446.86 per apartment. At that annual cost, a monthly rent of \$453.90 would be required. But the tenants will pay only \$67.38 per month, leaving \$386.52 per month to be paid by N.Y. taxpayers—or more than \$100 million over the 49-year bond payoff period."

—Tax Foundation, Inc.

When the Rich Enter Government Service

By RAYMOND MOLEY

When Jesus said that it was "easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter into the Kingdom of Heaven," it is recorded that his disciples "wondered very much." And a good many people, including some U.S. senators, have been wondering since.

There is no reliable data about the people who have entered heaven, but we do know that a great many rich men have been trying to by whatever means they have. However, when a rich man agrees to serve in high public office, his problems are much more complicated. These center upon the concept of "conflict of interest." He must not only submit himself to vigorous inquisitions while in office by congressional committees and by the press, but before he is confirmed he must not only disclose his private financial affairs but his ideas and philosophy about matters concerning his job. Also, if there seems to be any possibility of conflict of interest between his private property and the public good (as interpreted by individual senators), he must also remove personal control over his own property.

The Senate has never been very specific about how it should apply the laws and rules in these matters. For certain self-evident truths present themselves. Very often the public and the private interest can both be served in the same transaction. The late Charles Wilson, when he was chosen to be secretary of defense in 1953, said in effect that what was good for General Motors could be good for the United States and vice versa. This was quite true, but it caused a great commotion.

Going back some years for another precedent, President Harding was alleged to have said when he named Andrew Mellon to be secretary of the treasury that since Mellon had plenty of money he surely would not be tempted to steal from the taxpayers. But under constant scrutiny from the press Mellon seems to have been a good public servant. He reduced the public debt more than any other secretary in this century. And he was continued in office by two successors of Harding. The stain that was cast upon the memory of Harding was by two of the relatively poor members of his Cabinet.

The conclusion one must have reached during the period when the Senate was considering the men whom Mr. Nixon had chosen for Cabinet and sub-Cabinet positions was that while these interrogations and disclosures may not guarantee that there will be no favoritism, they serve useful purposes. They provide for a curious public information about the people who will serve it. And the Senate's approval of them provides a certain insurance against the attacks later on by the muckrakers in the press and in Congress.

Walter Hickel's troubles seem to have been rooted in a number of circumstances. First, there was his indiscretion in revealing his views about conservation. These views were not at all unreasonable. For despite the excessive zeal of conservationists it does make sense to oppose miserly hoarding of so many resources by the government.

While his personal record was not

responsibly questioned, his interests did involve many of the controversial affairs which are inherent in Alaska. For Alaska is the least developed of our states and is also probably among the richest in natural resources. The United States owns 95 per cent of its vast area. And most of the custody of this comes within the jurisdiction of the Interior Department. But since so many other concerns of that department lie in states remote from Alaska, the concentration of Hickel's interests in his home state may be a handicap in managing these other matters. It is no reflection upon the integrity or patriotism of Hickel to suggest that the President might have made a more fortunate selection.

While complete dedication to the public interest should be exacted of all who serve in government, an equally important qualification is competence. Waste—not pelf—is the more important price which the taxpayers must pay for incompetence in public office. For every dollar paid in even "honest" graft, millions are lost through incompetent administration. Every one of the 12 big departments should have at its head a man of proved success in his private affairs. And a most important test of such competence is what he has accumulated. The rich should, therefore, not be barred from public service merely because they are rich. But the old prejudice against the successful, which as we have seen goes back to the days of early Christianity, dies hard. And it is always a weapon in the arsenal of the demagogue.

(Copyright 1969, Los Angeles Times)



Former President Johnson looks on as Chief Justice Earl Warren swears in President Nixon January 20. The long time between the election and the inauguration creates problems for any new Administration.

Abolish the Interregnum

By HENRY HAZLITT

The present fixed two-and-a-half-month interval between the election of a new President and his assumption of office is always awkward and potentially dangerous. It is an unnecessary evil that could be easily abolished.

The danger of the previous interval of four months between the election of a new President and his assumption of office had become clear enough in 1933 to lead to the 20th Amendment, which put forward the inauguration date for a new President from March 4 to January 20. Unfortunately, the opportunity was missed at that time to abolish a long, rigidly fixed interval altogether.

The prolonged interregnum has brought great evils in the past. It was in the four months between the election and inauguration of Lincoln that seven states seceded from the Union and set up the Confederacy. Buchanan's authority was ignored, and Lincoln had no legal power to act until events had got almost completely out of hand.

Again, the deterioration of business confidence between the election of Franklin D. Roosevelt in November 1932 and his inauguration in March 1933, was accelerative. Roosevelt could not act because he was not yet in office; President Hoover could not lead because he had lost public support. The economic crisis became far worse than it need have been.

In the interregnum just past, both the outgoing and the incoming Presidents, though of opposite parties, have sought to co-operate to make the transition as smooth as possible. Yet there have been serious problems. The negotiations with North Viet Nam have dragged on and marked time because the old American negotiators could not speak for the new Administration.

Suspensions developed on both sides, also, about a new Supreme Court appointment. The Nixon camp heard that President Johnson was planning to appoint Arthur J. Goldberg as chief justice to succeed Earl Warren. The Johnson camp charged that the President-elect asked Earl Warren to stay till June merely to block such a move. But if there had not been a fixed 76-day changeover period, such an issue could hardly have arisen.

One clear absurdity that arises out of the prolonged changeover period combined with the present budget law is the legal requirement that the outgoing President prepare and present a budget for a fiscal year that does not even begin until he has been out of office for

nearly six months. The result is that the new President is saddled with a budget implementing all the old President's policies.

The fixed two-and-a-half-month interregnum could be easily abolished. All that would be necessary is a constitutional amendment allowing the outgoing President to resign in favor of his elected successor at any time before January 20 that they could mutually agree upon.

Such an advanced resignation, of course, should impose no economic penalties. The salaries of the outgoing President and vice president would continue to run in any case to January 20, and the formal inauguration ceremonies for the new President could continue to be held on that date.

A similar voluntary earlier transfer of office should also be permitted between outgoing and incoming congressmen and senators.

There would be no obligation on any outgoing office holder to resign in advance of the present constitutionally fixed dates, but most outgoing congressmen and the outgoing President would probably prefer to do so, if only to avoid the lame-duck stigma.

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DEEPER IN THE RED—"An official story out of Washington on January 7 announced that the national debt 'increased by 4 per cent during 1968,' reaching a year-end total (December 31) of \$361.2 billion. For the 12 months just past the escalation was \$15.3 billion. It has escalated some more since that date; for the Treasury report issued for January 3 put it at \$362,203,411,306.07—roughly another billion. At that level it was figured at the amount of \$1,786 per man, woman and child in the country. . . . Two facts stand out in this year-end official data on what, as taxpayers, the U.S. people owe: The 1968 calendar-year increase (\$15.3 billion) is almost exactly the amount of interest paid annually on the debt; and that carrying charge would have run it up that much (per year) even if not a dollar had been added to the conglomerate red ink expenditures."—From the Nashville *Banner*

Tax-Paid Civil Servants Work on Price Daniel's Book

Highly paid civil servants have been assigned to work on the research, writing and editing of a privately published book that will bear the byline of Price Daniel, director of the Office of Emergency Planning, and his wife.

Daniel, a former Texas governor, is an old crony of Lyndon Johnson. In fact, Mrs. Johnson has written the preface to Daniel's book, a guidebook to state capitals.

Rep. H. R. Gross (R.-Iowa) first heard of Daniel's project from an OEP employe angry that taxpayer funds were being squandered. Gross asked for an investigation by the watchdog General Accounting Office, which reported that four top-level OEP officials had been assigned to the project, plus stenographic and clerical assistants.

OEP regional staffs and their staffs were also involved in the book's research, the GAO found.

The OEP is supposed to coordinate nonmilitary defense of the U.S. ("picking up the pieces after a nuclear attack") and direct federal response to such natural disasters as floods and earthquakes.

Daniel defended the use of tax-paid assistants, saying the project enabled him to "foster good working relations" with the nation's governors. Daniel also noted that two other top officials, Interior Secretary Stewart Udall and Agriculture Secretary Orville Freeman, had authored books while in office. But Gross was unimpressed:

"At least Secretary Udall and Secretary Freeman wrote books having some connection with their official duties. This guidebook has about as much connection with Mr. Daniel's duties as it does with Apollo 8."

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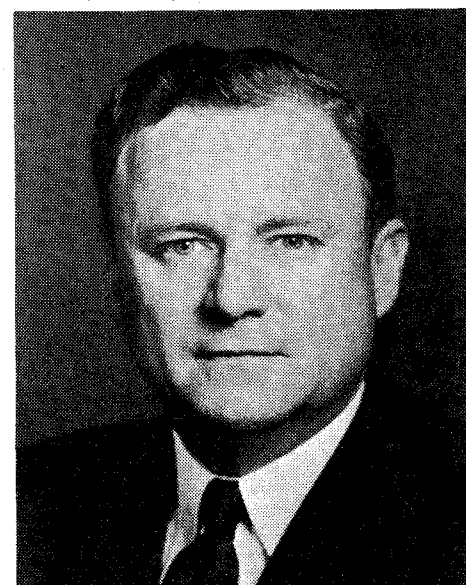
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The problem with ex-Gov. Price Daniel's book, paid for by taxpayers, is that it has nothing to do with his official duties.

Gross termed the book "outrageous," noting that at least seven publications on state capitals are gathering dust on Library of Congress shelves. Referring to the use of government employes, Gross said that Daniel should be made to repay the Treasury "for every single hour" they spent on his project.

Note: On November 14, while OEP employes were completing research for the book, Daniel issued an economy directive that ordered his subjects to "restrict the expenditure of research or study funds to those problems most critical. . . ."

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When Government Meddles in Competition

By IRENE CORBALLY KUHN

With all the turmoil and excitement going on everywhere all the time—wars, disasters, moon shots, plane hijackings, it hardly seems necessary to get in a lather about whether supermarket meat should be sold in a paper tray or a plastic one.

However, since the familiar paperboard tray has been replaced by law in New York City with one of "see-through" plastic, the subject assumes the importance of a domestic trade war. Moreover, it gives rise to several troublesome questions. Is an attempt being made to pervert the whole theory of law designed to protect the consumer?

Does this New York City legislation benefit special interests? May it not actually be legislation which not only does not advance the consumers' good but may be detrimental to it?

The battle of paperboard vs. plastic meat trays began in earnest when New York's Mayor John Lindsay signed into law a bill requiring all pre-packaged meat sold at retail in the city be in plastic trays after August 1. This started an industry row between the manufacturers of the outlawed paper trays and the makers of the favored plastic ones.

The argument that the customer should be able to see both sides of the meat he's purchasing appeared reasonable enough. It would seem to provide insurance against unscrupulous butchers. However, since the stakes are estimated at \$80 million or more, the motive of the combatants is clear. The rival industries make an estimated 10 billion trays a year, more than half of pulp paper, 3 per cent of clear plastic and the rest of polystyrene foam and chipboard. Now all must be made of plastic if they are to carry New York City's meat from market to home.

This is now more than a local issue. Identical legislation is being proposed to other city and state governments all across the country, making it a matter of national concern.

What is at issue is the right of manufacturers of all types of packaging to compete openly and freely. There are dangers in a law which enforces the use of a single product for a particular industry.

It goes without saying that the consumer must be protected from abuses in the market place. However, legislators can be deluded into believing they are supporting bills for "consumer protection" which are unfair to everyone.

This seems to be what has happened in the case of the plastic tray. There has been a boom in pre-packaged meats in supermarkets, and the manufacturing of trays to hold the meat has become a multi-million-dollar business. Up to now, the field had been dominated by molded paper trays which have been simple, safe and satisfactory. Then the plastics industry, eyeing this burgeoning market, developed a tray it promoted as being "transparent."

New York City okayed the nude look in meat trays without sufficient study of all the pros and cons. Rep. Peter N. Kyros (D.-Maine), who has taken an interest in the fight, summed up the basic issue:

"The [law] is shocking for the simple reason that it originated not with the consumer, but seemingly within the confines of the City Council itself. Even the Markets Department of the City of

New York did not initiate the action, though as a unit of the city government it was listed as supporting the decree," he reported in the *Congressional Record*.

"Marketing by lobby" is a dangerous new trend. Products should not be legislated into use unless there is a clear danger posed by their competition to the consumers' health. This trend, if allowed to get out of hand, could reach into every phase of our daily life. Some logical examples suggest themselves: bottled soft drinks vs. canned; eyeglasses vs. contact lenses; paper milk containers vs. glass bottles;

and even wooden vs. metal coat hangers. In our system of free enterprise legal intrusion into legitimate competition in the marketplace is a real danger.

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U.N. STATISTIC—"An unpleasant footnote to a generally unpleasant 1968 is the startling news that documents issued at the United Nations last year totaled 526 million pages and weighed 1,738 tons! If there was ever a case of 'much ado about nothing,' this is it."—From the *Richmond News Leader*

Revolution (Read: Subversion) Theme of New Rolf Hochhuth Play

A West German playwright who caused widespread controversy with his previous two plays is tackling the theme of a leftist-inspired revolution in the United States in his upcoming third dramatic effort. Playwright Rolf Hochhuth, whose previous works, *The Deputy* and *Soldiers*, were the subjects of bitter dispute, is now completing an as-yet-untitled American revolution drama.

Hochhuth's thesis in this work is that "revolution in the second half of the 20th Century is a matter of getting the right people into the right jobs"—that is, subversion.

The German author does not hold much faith in the revolution-making capacities of New Leftist agitators, whom he once joined in a New York anti-Viet Nam demonstration, or in the romantic revolutionary as typified by the late Che Guevara.

In his New York experience, Hochhuth recalled in a recent *London Times* interview, "we stopped, started, sat down, got up, waited patiently for an hour, all virtually by orders of the armed police and the watching helicopters overhead. I realized then that this was not the stuff of which revolutions are made. . . . Revolution nowadays must be strictly an inside job."

Hochhuth got another taste of youthful radicalism when he participated in a discussion panel of his play *Soldiers* before a group of West Berlin students. Originally thinking the students would appreciate his treatment of moral values, Hochhuth instead found himself the victim of taunts and shouts of "you have nothing to tell us." Afterwards the playwright concluded "these people will never reform any society by revolution—least of all their own."

In keeping with his "inside job" thesis, Hochhuth does not believe events in "peripheral satellites"—such as Guevara's attempts at revolution in Bolivia—will cause a spark in the United States. The day of the "mass workers and peasant uprising" in America, he says, is past.

Since such views contradict much current romantic nonsense held dearly as truth by New Left pseudo-revolutionaries, the new Hochhuth play seems determined to be as widely debated as the two before. *The Deputy*, which played on Broadway some four years ago, broadly hinted that Pope Pius XII had failed humanity by not vigorously and widely protesting Nazi Germany's slaughter of six million European Jews.

Soldiers, which appeared in New York last year, openly charges that English Prime Minister Winston Churchill personally contrived the death-by-air-crash of Polish premier-in-exile Wladyslaw Sikorski during World War II. Sikorski was expendable, Hochhuth's play explains, because he had endangered England's anti-Hitler alliance with the Soviet Union by accusing Stalin of murdering Polish army officers. The play was understandably banned in England until the recent abolition of official theatrical censorship, and now that it is being performed in London, the Churchill family is suing it for "infamous libel."

Unlike these two plays, Hochhuth's new work will not have historical figures playing the leading roles and will abandon the "documentary-style" approach. Set in 1967 America, it will feature an idealistic, young New York attorney who comes from a leading "Establishment" family. By cleverly working dedicated revolutionaries into top jobs in the government through his "old school" tries, and by exploiting his family's shipbuilding enterprise (which includes the contract for constructing the Polaris nuclear submarine), Hochhuth's revolutionary hero plots his subversion.

In the end a fleet of Polaris ships, manned by a conspiratorial crew, holds the U.S. government to ransom, threatening to destroy major cities with nuclear warheads unless power is relinquished.

"The play," says author Hochhuth, "is a tragedy, but a heroic tragedy."

And, if the playwright's previous works are any indication, it will also be the cause of much controversy.

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PENTAGON RETALIATION — The Pentagon has again retaliated against a civilian employee who cooperated with Senate probes. A.E. Fitzgerald, an Air Force management expert, testified recently that production of a giant transport plane will cost taxpayers \$2 billion more than official estimates. Twelve days later Fitzgerald was notified that due to a "computer error," he had incorrectly been given career tenure. Sen. William Proxmire (D.-Wis.) scoffed at "the coincidence of a misprogrammed computer making a 1-in-10,000 mistake against one of the rare congressional employees with the guts to tell a congressional committee that the Pentagon is spending too much."

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LBJ's Budget

By REP. WILMER MIZELL (R.-N.C.)

Leading Republicans have labeled President Johnson's farewell budget misleading and meaningless. For instance, Sen. John Williams (R.-Del.), the ranking Republican on the Senate Finance Committee, has said that the budget surplus was a "manipulation of figures." Sen. Jack Miller (R.-Iowa), another Senate Finance Committee member, has said that the Johnson budgets have become "meaningless documents."



So it looks like we will arrive at the end of the fiscal year before we will know if we have a balanced budget or not, or if all the estimates of economic growth and tax revenues are going to total out to a balanced budget.

While I do not believe we should ever permit the salaries of our government officials to reach such a low that only millionaires can afford to serve—and I think this would be the very worst thing that could possibly happen to us—I think we should make every effort to get our economy back on a sound footing, operate from a balanced budget, and remove the surtax as soon as possible. Then we could consider raising the salaries of governmental officials.

I hope it will be long remembered that [the Johnson] Administration with its fiscal irresponsibility brought about the necessity for a surtax, imposed the surtax, and recommended increasing these salaries while the people are still burdened with the 10 per cent surtax.

I feel very strongly that we should not increase salaries until we at least have sound economy, a balanced budget, and the removal of the surtax. If I handled my personal finances in such a manner as this past Administration has handled these, I am certain I would face bankruptcy immediately.

Dubcek's Fate

By REP. JOHN DOWDY (D.-Tex.)

You will recall that in August of last year, the Russians arrested Alexander Dubcek, the Czechoslovakia leader, and took him to Moscow for a "conference," to settle the dispute between Russia and Czechoslovakia. Reports from semi-official Czech sources indicate that while Dubcek was in custody of the Russians, he was brutally manhandled and was administered a large dose of strontium, a radioactive poison. As a result, he has at most two years to live. This is not as quick a disposal as the brutal purges used by Stalin, but the end is the same, and is more inhuman, if that is possible.

Bail Bond Reform

By REP. JERRY FORD (R.-Mich.)

Among the bills introduced in the new Congress is one which I am co-sponsoring to revise the Bail Reform Act of 1966. Our bill would permit federal courts to deny bond to dangerous criminals awaiting trial. Under current law a person charged with a crime must be released under bond prior to his trial and the court is not permitted to



take the safety of the community into consideration in setting the terms for his release under bond. As a result, we find many crimes being committed by hard-core repeat offenders out of jail on bond.

For example, in the District of Columbia in 1968, 130 persons were arrested for robbery and released on bond. Of these 130 free on bail, 45 were indicted for at least one additional felony; the 45 had 76 indictments placed against them while on bail.

Our bill aims to prevent this sort of thing by permitting the courts to deny bail if it is apparent that release of the accused would pose a danger to the community. However, such periods of detention may not exceed 60 days if the trial is not delayed by the defendant's own action. In addition, all detention orders are subject to review in 24 hours and immediate appeal thereafter. This bill also provides stiff additional penalties for those who commit crimes while on bail.

We are pleased to note that top D.C. officials and many newspaper editorials have endorsed this approach as one step toward more effective crime control.

Campus Militants

By REP. O. C. FISHER (D.-Tex.)

The flare-up of students on college campuses, demanding all sorts of things, is continuing this year with no end in sight. Much of the fault must be shouldered by the school officials who yield to this kind of pressure. Some of the militants, particularly the "Black Power" radicals, often move in and occupy campus offices and buildings, even to the point of forced occupancy of executive offices. Too often, in a pitiful show of timidity, school authorities apply little if any punishment to such hooligans. The press reports one demand being pushed by some unruly students in India which even the wild ones on the Berkeley campus have not discovered. There a "new and ludicrous phase of student anarchy" has been revealed: a demand that students be allowed to cheat on tests!

U.S. Sea Power

By REP. TOM MESKILL (R.-Conn.)

Testifying before the House Sea Power subcommittee, Adm. Thomas H. Moorer said that the 6th Fleet in the Mediterranean is not up to full combat strength and readiness. This should be a matter of great concern.



This information has been disclosed at a time when the Soviets are making great strides in naval power. Apparently the Russians are making an all-out drive to attain naval superiority over the United States.

According to Adm. Moorer, it is the war in Viet Nam which is largely responsible for depleting our sea power in the Mediterranean. Due to demands for naval support for our troops in Viet Nam, ships from the 6th Fleet have been diverted to duty in Pacific waters.

The admiral pointed to the weakened condition of the entire U.S. Navy at

this time. Fifty-eight per cent of our 900 ships are at least 20 years old; less than 1 per cent of the Russian navy is that old.

I believe this points up one reason why Russia wants the war in Viet Nam to continue. It also points up another important reason for us to conclude the Viet Nam war as soon as possible. In the meantime, it is urgent that we take action to insure that our sea forces are adequate to meet any threat to our security.

Lenient Courts

By REP. BURT TALCOTT (R.-Calif.)

The appalling escalation of crime in America must be halted. The tranquility and security which was enjoyed in almost every community in America a relatively few years ago must be re-

stored. The present fear in the hearts of our citizens when they step out into the city streets must be replaced with confidence. In my opinion, one reason, among others, for the development of this situation is that the courts have been too lenient in the sentences meted out for various crimes. There is little deterrent effect if a would-be law violator knows he will spend a very short time incarcerated if he is apprehended and convicted. To help remedy this situation, I believe any person who uses, or even has on his person, a gun or other dangerous or deadly weapon when committing a crime carrying a one-year prison term should be imprisoned for a minimum of five years, but not over 10 years. This second jail term would be non-suspendable and non-par-donable. Every intending criminal who uses a gun must know that he will serve this period in prison if he is apprehended and convicted.

Continued From Page 6

N.Y. Scandals Hurt OEO

tion of the notorious Youth Corps, but only after repeated fiscal chicanery and upon receiving a federal report that the corps' "project director, his assistant and most of the incumbents of executive positions are not qualified, either by education or experience, to supervise an operation which expends an average of \$29 million annually." In the current NYC shakeup the position of project director was abolished, but its present incumbent, Willie J. Smith—whom the government had declared "not qualified"—was offered a new NYC job of approximate status; Smith, saying this was a "demotion," refused.

Predictably, when charges against HRA were first aired, its creator, Mayor Lindsay, and its chief officer, sociologist Mitchell Ginsburg, charged the New York Times with "overexaggeration" and pleaded that things were not as bad as they seemed. Lindsay read a prepared statement in defense of HRA when the Times' accusations first appeared, but refused to answer reporters' questions following the statement.

Ginsburg, a former Columbia University dean, was more eager to set the record straight on his agency. His chief defense was that (1) "If we had better [financial] controls, we wouldn't have had the [poverty] programs," and (2) that "Even with all the inefficiencies and mistakes coming to light—and they are serious—the Youth Corps and other programs like it have made an important difference to the poor and they must not be destroyed."

Apropos of the second defense, the Times unearthed an HRA staff memorandum to Director Ginsburg prepared last May. Administrative mismanagement, said the HRA's own investigator, had "more than negated the impact of the anti-poverty program in local communities."

In another aspect of the controversy, Ginsburg labeled as "patently untrue" the Times' accusation that HRA officials had been uncooperative with investigators probing their activities. The Times had not made the charge, but had quoted federal and city agency investigators accusing HRA personnel of destroying records, refusing to volunteer information and being reluctant to provide requested materials.

As for federal moves to correct the

situation, other than several harsh, critical reports by government investigators, the only agency thus far to have taken positive action—although small—is the Office of Economic Opportunity. After officials of the HRA's Community Development Agency were caught illegally removing \$5.2 million in health aid funds from the city comptroller's office, OEO decided to make its community health program grants directly to participating city hospitals, rather than continue funneling it through HRA.

Otherwise both the OEO and Labor Department, which between them furnish most of HRA's \$122-million-a-year anti-poverty budget, have agreed to extend this financing through the end of the current fiscal year, or June 31.

In return, however, the HRA had to agree to implement a list of fiscal "safeguards" drawn up by government-contracted accounting experts. One of these precautions will be a federal auditing office, staffed by OEO and Labor Department officials, operating right in the HRA headquarters.

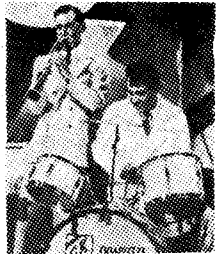
If the new safeguards effectively curtail fiscal irregularities, there will be great pressure put on the Nixon Administration urban affairs team to continue financing HRA. Even HRA critics such as Willard Wirtz say they agree with the superagency approach to poverty "in concept," and the original design of HRA was for it to serve as a model for anti-poverty operations in other major U.S. cities.

But it may be too late. The HRA is falling down, a victim of the very bureaucratic bunglings and mismanagement it initially sought to circumvent, and New York City's poor—aside from those, like the Durham Mob, who helped themselves—are not appreciably better off than they were two years ago.

The Nixon Administration would be advised to resist pressures for HRA's continuation and, if programs to assist the poor are to be continued, make sure they are administered by competent professionals and actually do assist the poor. This is not what happened in New York with the Human Resources Administration.

Were you in love with Carole Lombard?

Remember "the world's greatest checker player"...Wally Warfield Simpson, who "jumped two men and got a king"?



Remember how Mel Ott used to fling his foot in the air before he brought the wood around? Remember the Fatty Arbuckle trials? And when Charlie Chaplin married Paulette Goddard?

Remember zoot suits with a reet pleat?

And "brevity is the soul of lingerie"? Who was the better horn player, Harry or Bix? Some say Satchmo was the greatest of them all. Remember the flappers from Greenwich Village, who wore short, short skirts and *nothing* underneath?

Tell the truth: didn't you even *TRY* to make booze in the bathtub? Did you get to see the Trylon and the Perisphere? Remember how you waited all week for **BANK NIGHT**? Did you have a lever on your dashboard marked **FREE WHEELING IN**? Remember lace corsets? The Black Bottom? The Big Apple? Remember "Quick Henry, the Flit!"? Shoveling coal?

Remember the flagpole sitters? Peaches and Daddy Browning? Did you ever tell a date, "Thanks for the buggy ride"? (Not if he was a secondhand hunk of cheese; then you told him to go fly a kite.)

Whatever *did* happen to Judge Crater? (Maybe they should have called in the Thin Man.) **Were you afraid to go see KING KONG?** Remember Mae West in *Night After Night*? ("She stole everything but the cameras," muttered George Raft after a preview.)

Try hard... and maybe you can still hear the musical moan of Bob Burns' original bazooka. Or Andy Devine's washboard voice. **Remember Wallace**

Beery? Mable Normand? Fay Wray? Or the way your heart

swelled when Nelson Eddy sang "Stout-Hearted Men"? Remember "The Music Goes 'Round and 'Round"... "A Tisket, A Tasket"... "It's a Sin to Tell a Lie"... "In a Cottage Small by a Waterfall"? Of course you remember Wee Bonnie Baker. And Benny and the Quartet, the first time they invaded Carnegie Hall! Did you play the ukelele?

Remember yo-yo tournaments? Remember *The Literary Digest*? *Collier's*? *Ballyhoo*? *Vanity Fair*?

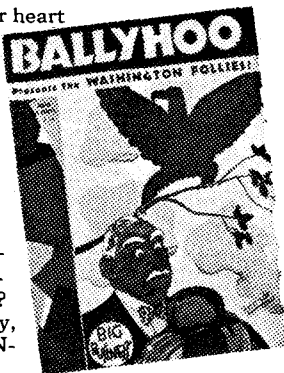
Were you a jitterbug? Remember those magazine cover ads: "It's Toasted", "They Satisfy". Remember your father's fountain pen? Nickel hot dogs? Two-bit hair cuts? Or "Has Anybody Here Seen Kelly, K-E-Double-L-Y?" Remember movies that were **CONTINUED NEXT WEEK? Remember the ice man?**

Remember Valentino? The Cotton Club? "It"? Remember "Ask Me Another"? **Were you a jazz baby?** Wouldn't you like to meet the poor shrimp who sat playing the banjo in the back of Just Plain Bill's barber shop?

Remember the Toonerville Trolley, Toots and Casper, Mush Stebbins, Little Mary Mixup? Was your birthday announced on Uncle Don?

Has there ever been anything in this world like Near Beer? Remember how we all idolized the Brown Bomber! The Lone Eagle! The Lone Ranger! Yes... and **REMEMBER TUNING IN...** to *Amos 'n Andy*: "I'se Regusted!" Joe Penner: "Wanna buy a duck?" Rudy Vallee: "Heigh Ho Everybody". Major Bowes: "All right! All right! Bong!" Remember Vic and Sade? Allen's Alley? Stoopnagle and Budd? "Buck Benny rides again"?

Remember the Silly Symphonies? Or: "She was only a doctor's daughter, but my how she operated." Remember running boards? Rumble seats? Roadsters? **Remember When?** It was silly and mostly nonsense, but it was a laugh a minute. And there hasn't been anything like it since. Now it's all back again... waiting for you as a Charter Member of the **NOSTALGIA CLUB!**



Remember how you felt the first time you got on a conga line?

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We want to attract lots of members to the Club right at the start. So we've arranged to make your Charter Membership worth more in dollars and more in pleasure: • At least three times a year, Charter Members only will receive either a free surprise book or record... or be offered the same at a price much lower than even the Club discount price... or be privileged to buy at a good discount a special book available only to Charter Members, not to ordinary members. • Now—as long as we can keep this offer open—you can take, for just one dollar, a copy of Allen Churchill's wonderful, just-published \$9.95 word-and-picture story of 1900-1942, *Remember When*. • Free subscription to *Reminiscing Time*, monthly Club bulletin that not only describes latest Selection and Alternates but carries special yesteryear features sure to start the nostalgia flowing. • Discounts ranging from 20% all the way up to 70%, prices from \$3.75. • You need buy only 4 Club Selections over the next two years from among the 50 or more we'll offer, after which you may resign at any time. • You are free to reject any Selection you don't want on the handy form provided. If you want the monthly Selection, no need to do anything. It will come automatically. • **EXTRA!** We guarantee never to offer a book about Twiggy or the Beatles.

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